

PATTERNS OF EUROPEAN SANCTITY: THE CULT OF SAINTS
IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES
(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PERUGIA)

by

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Ph.D.

University of Edinburgh

1974



SUMMARY

The first part of this study attempts to provide a general introduction to the cult of saints in later medieval Europe (c.1200-1500). The Preface offers some preliminary remarks pertaining to the idea of cult and also discusses the way in which the thesis is organized. Chapters I and II then survey six essential manifestations of the cult of saints within popular Christianity of the later Middle Ages -- miracles, images, personal names, holidays, shrines, and relics. An effort is made to consider each manifestation of cult in reference to original hagiographic, liturgical, or iconographic sources. Whenever appropriate, each manifestation of cult is looked at both in terms of popular religious behavior and the comments which such behavior provoked from critics and reformers. Two major themes emerge: the thirteenth century popularization of the cult of saints, and the relatively weak impact of new saints as compared to traditional patrons. Chapter III examines later medieval hagiography, the demography of sanctity, and patterns of veneration and cult diffusion. The second part of this study concentrates upon the hagiographic program of Perugia in order to situate the later medieval cult of saints within a circumscribed religious and civic environment. Documentary evidence on the cult of saints in later medieval Perugia is assembled in the appendices. A bibliography follows.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

After seven years of research and writing, interspersed with teaching preoccupations, it is hard to recollect the point in time when this topic had not yet been chosen. I do remember, however, that the interests of Professor Denys Hay of the University of Edinburgh in matters of later medieval religion greatly encouraged me to pursue my studies in this area, and his publications helped to direct me to the cult of saints as a valid subject for historical inquiry. His guidance has always been available, and his determination to see my thesis completed has never flagged; it is a pleasure to express my gratitude to him.

The helpfulness of the University of Edinburgh's inter-library loan department in securing books and photo-copies of articles from British and, more often, from continental libraries is much appreciated. The same library's rare book and MSS. department, its director and staff, have also been of unfailing service. Thanks are due to*the librarians of the National Library of Scotland and the British Museum. I am most grateful to the Warburg Institute, the Bodleian Library, Mr. Christopher Black, and Mr. Michael Bury for lending me valuable material. For the many productive and pleasant days spent reading and note-taking in the Biblioteca Augusta of Perugia, I am indebted to the courtesy and service of its director and staff.

Many specific debts of gratitude to individual scholars are acknowledged in the footnotes; without exaggeration, I can speak of the Bollandists as my schoolmasters. Messrs. André Vauchez and Pierre Delooz have generously allowed me to study their respective theses, from which I have learned much. Legacies from Mr. Elias Berger and from Mr. Harry Berger have allowed me to go to Italy and to prepare the typescript. My wife has greatly assisted me throughout. My three year old daughter has learned to say 'thesis', and for what that signifies, I offer her my apologies.

* Professor U. Mitteldorf of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence,

PREFACE

The cult of saints, which played so conspicuous a part in medieval Christianity, has produced a voluminous scholarly literature. Each new issue of Analecta Bollandiana¹ testifies to a continuing interest in every aspect of hagiography amongst scholars of a number of disciplines; and each discipline seems to bring forward its particular method for coming to grips with a daunting body of primary material.

It is curious, therefore, that no comprehensive history of the cult paid to saints throughout later medieval Europe (c.1200-1500) seems to have been written. Fascinated by the question of origins, many great scholars have instead preferred to devote their energies to Christian antiquity, the Merovingian era, or, to a lesser extent, the tenth and eleventh centuries.² Despite valuable studies of individual saints and their cults during subsequent epochs, it nonetheless remains a striking fact that few general works on the subject have been written and that the hagiography of later medieval and Renaissance Europe (if by hagiography we include all the facets of the cult of the saints and not merely the study of saints' lives) has not received the sort of broad, synthetic investigation accorded to earlier periods, and has, in consequence, suffered from relative neglect.³ Happily the enterprise and learning that would be required for such a formidable undertaking as a detailed history of the cult of saints in the later medieval centuries are not demanded of a doctoral thesis.

Nevertheless, it is impossible to ignore several important problems crucial to the entire cult of saints during this period, problems to which a general history would necessarily have to address itself. Great prudence will of course be needed in entertaining these questions. Until there are a good selection of regional studies of medieval Christianity which include adequate discussion of the function of the cult of saints within their respective regions,⁴ any conclusions bearing upon all of Latin Christendom will have to remain tentative. Still, for the most closely delimited of monographs, a wider context is often desirable, if only for the sake of perspective. The task of this relatively long introduction is to provide such a wider context by raising more questions than it is currently possible to answer satisfactorily.

Questions about the cult of saints, it might be held, are of two sorts — those pertaining to the saints and those pertaining to their cult. Initially one might suppose that it should be possible to keep both sets of questions separate and distinct from one another. Ultimately, however, a sociology of saints and a sociology of their cults demand joint attention, for the issues involve one another and cannot be kept in watertight compartments. Thus, about the saints of a given time, we would want to know: who they were; where they came from; what their social class was; what social or ecclesiastical roles they filled in their lifetimes. In other words, we would want to know how 'sainthood' applies to an assorted class of men and women, how 'sainthood' defines a human population. Considered in this light,

the full range of demographic inquiry would appear to be relevant, from male-female ratios to longevity charts.⁵

Yet there are undoubtedly serious obstacles to a view of the saints as a discrete population, analogous to any other. For one thing, their birthdate or dies natalis as saints is likely to be their deathdate or burial date as mortal men.⁶ Liturgically, the saint's career is his cult, and cult commences only after a human career has run its course. Moreover, the popular verdict that a certain deceased Christian was indeed a saint must ordinarily have been validated by posthumous phenomena like miracles and typically have been ratified by higher authority. Hence the cult of a saint is not purely his Nachleben — the extension of his personality beyond the grave or even the image of that personality; rather, in many ways, it is a new creation, taking on a logic and dynamism of its own.⁷

To explore the meaning of cult, we would try to discover: what marks of posthumous veneration are 'signs of cult'; under what circumstances did cult develop and how did it spread; what characterises the relationship existing between patron saint and individual or corporate clients; which saints were peculiarly favored with cult; why were some saints venerated in some places while other saints were comparatively ignored there?

Here 'cult' has been used as an all-inclusive term for the public veneration of saints, a broad usage incorporating liturgical observances but extending beyond them. Private transactions

between an individual and a saint, such as in prayer, must also be called acts of cult. Now for present day canonists, public liturgical cultus is the prerogative of officially approved, beatified or canonised saints.⁸ In the later Middle Ages, however, the situation was more complicated and less well-defined, both because canonists were in the process of formulating the regulations of cult and because these regulations were often unknown or ignored. Veneration could assume many guises, and it is well to remember that cult, with or without official approval, was not limited to canonised saints. Certainly, in later medieval Europe, canonization became an increasingly more elaborate undertaking, as papal procedure grew more complex and greater financial burdens were placed upon those promoting a process at the papal court.⁹

But the choice of contemporary saints in the later Middle Ages was not made in a vacuum: there existed the persistent influence of much more venerable previous choices. These 'old' saints, celebrated over the course of centuries, represented to the entire Latin Church — more vividly than any theologian or canonist could instruct or legislate — who saints were and consequently whom 'new' saints ought to resemble. The ongoing cult of these 'old' saints imposed a pattern upon the selection of 'new' saints because preaching, iconography, religious drama, vernacular saints' lives all presented models of sanctity which were bound to affect later medieval perceptions.

Yet the traditional patterns of sanctity, however deeply rooted, did not escape the pressure of new popular needs and

tastes; modifications in the ancient ideal follow, and notions of sanctity change. The view that the Christian idea of sanctity is uniquely resistant to change cannot be upheld without violence to the facts.¹⁰ Obligated to respond to new religious and social requirements, some saint cults declined, while new cults developed and others continued to flourish. Despite the attacks of reforming churchmen or scandalized laymen upon alleged abuses in the cult of saints and the rejection by heretical sects of the theological underpinnings of the cult; despite the vigor of the cult of Christ and the increasing importance of guardian angels, the saints and their cult remained a vital part of later medieval religion.

If it is historically absurd to speak of a saint without reference to his cult, it is equally misleading to describe a cult without alluding to the life of the saint who occasioned it. The selection of new saints within a traditional yet evolving pattern of perception, social function, and ceremonial veneration was always a continuous process. Hence an understanding of the popularity of a given saint and the social function of his cult is deepened by examining the particular milieu in which the cult of that saint was fostered. Naturally, the peculiarities of cult and cult adoption or diffusion could vary from diocese to diocese and from region to region, just as the clients of a saint could be drawn from corporations, such as cities and guilds, and individuals in pursuit of a common need or remedy. In fact, the nature of the tie which connected social groups to celestial patrons is one of the most fascinating aspects of the cult of saints. How

^d
 an_h why groups of believers came to invoke a specific saint, whether or not he was originally their fellow citizen, fellow worker, or fellow sufferer, tells us a great deal about the most profound allegiances which bound communities together.

Such considerations will perhaps help to justify the approach which this study takes towards its subject. A few words of explanation may be helpful in clarifying its organization, and especially its division into two parts.

As a foundation and a framework, Part One attempts to sketch a general introduction to the cult of saints in later medieval Europe. Essential manifestations of cult are surveyed, and a number of relevant liturgical and hagiographic documents are signaled. Some important aspects of popular behavior towards the saints are mentioned. Finally, a few results of demographic inquiries into sanctity are juxtaposed with certain problems of cult.¹¹

To situate the later medieval saint cult within a circumscribed religious and civic environment and by this means to arrive at an assessment of its function there, is the task of Part Two. Within the city of Perugia approximately from the beginnings of the thirteenth to the close of the fifteenth centuries, the cult of saints will, it is hoped, be displayed in its adaptation to a precise local setting. Clearly, one area with its historical and geographical peculiarities is not interchangeable with another; however, if these very peculiarities

are sufficiently brought out, the intrepid generalist, by allowing for them, may be able to draw out a few implications pertinent at least to Italian cities and possibly to urban Christianity elsewhere. Hopefully, within its Perugian setting, the cult of saints may be seen at work, as part of civic Christianity,¹² functioning during the course of the ecclesiastical and municipal year, in politics and society, in war and peace, and in time of plague.

The cults of individual saints as well as saint groupings will have to be traced in order to cast light upon the tie between the city and its local and localised saints. Who promoted these cults and for what reasons? Taken as a whole, the manifestations of cult within the city, or more properly, within the diocese comprise a distinctive hagiographic program.¹³ This program, as characteristic as a signature, would immediately identify as from Perugia a document upon which the pattern of local cults appears. The reception of new foreign saints or the recognition and veneration of new local saints must be placed inside this traditional pattern of cults, ~~many of~~ ^{in part} which may derive from the remote paleo-Christian or early medieval past. The formation of the entire hagiographic program parallels the political vicissitudes of the city and mirrors its self-consciousness. Research thus intrudes upon the territory of Staatsymbolik,¹⁴ for the cult of saints is part of the image of urban identity both at home and abroad, and reflects the iconography of power. It ought to be possible, finally, to arrive at some overall estimate of the vitality of the cult of saints in Perugia. In sum, the Perugian case-study should both illuminate and render concrete some of the more general matters raised earlier.

Preface: NOTES

1. Analecta Bollandiana, hereafter AB, publishes hagiographic texts, inventories of hagiographic MSS, and essays on the lives and cults of saints written by the Bollandist editors and outside contributors (Vol.I (1882) ff.). Especially useful is the 'Bulletin des publications hagiographiques' where new books and articles relevant to hagiography are critically reviewed. In their reviews, the Bollandists offer methodological suggestions, inter alia, of the greatest value. Also, these reviews frequently cite evidence from or summarise the conclusions of studies appearing in remote or obscure journals which are virtually unobtainable otherwise. On occasion, it is from this source, as the notes will of course make plain, that information has been obtained. The growth of hagiographic studies in the last ten years may be observed in the rising number of publications which, because of space limitations, are now noticed rather than reviewed by the Bollandists. Analecta Bollandiana is published quarterly. For the Bollandists' Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina see Chap.1, Note 4. On the Bollandists, two general accounts are brief and informative: A. de Bil, "Bollandistes", pp.631-2, Vol.9 (Paris, 1937), Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques (abbreviated to DHGE) and D. Knowles, Great Historical Enterprises, pp.1-32 (London, 1963). A useful survey of hagiography is René Aigrain, L'Hagiographie - ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire (Paris, 1953).
2. For Christian antiquity, the premier syntheses are by H. Delehaye, Les Origines du culte des martyrs (2nd rev.ed.) (Brussels, 1927). See also E. Lucius, Les Origines du culte des saints dans l'église chrétienne (transl. Jeanmaire) (Paris, 1908). Cf enormous value, but a work of erudition rather than a history is F. Lanson, Le Diocesi d'Italia dalle origini al principio del secolo VII (Studi e Testi 35) (Faenza, 1927; reprinted Rome, 1963). For the Merovingian period, B. de Gaiffier discusses some modern titles in "Mentalité de l'hagiographe médiéval d'après quelques travaux récents", AB, Vol.LXXXVI (1968), pp.391-99 and again in "Hagiographie et historiographie" Vol.I, pp. 140-166 of Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, XVII (Spoleto, 1970). For the tenth century, see L.Zoepef, Das Heiligenleben im 10.Jahrhundert (Leipzig, 1908). Chapters of de Gaiffier's thesis on eleventh century hagiography in Flanders and Lower Lorraine have been published in AB, Vol.L (1932), pp.123-38 and in the author's Etudes critiques d'hagiographie et d'iconologie (Brussels, 1967) (cited as Etudes).
3. Although there is no lack of general descriptions of the cult of saints in large scale historical works, these generalities are usually of very limited utility. A distinct exception is E.Delaruelle, et al., L'Eglise au temps du grand schisme et de la crise conciliaire, 1378-1449 (Fliche et Martin, Histoire de l'Eglise (14.2)(Tournai, 1964), especially pp.787-820 and

- passim. (To be cited as DELARUELLE). Matters concerning cult have been treated in a competent unpublished thesis by André Vauchez, L'idée de sainteté au XIIIème and XIVème siècles d'après le procès de canonization et dans l'opinion des fideles. (University of Paris, 1960-61). My indebtedness to the work of Vauchez as well as my dissent from some of his general conclusions will be sufficiently clear from the notes which follow. (Afterwards, VAUCHEZ).
4. In this regard, J. Toussaert, Le Sentiment religieux en Flandre a la fin du Moyen-Age (Paris, 1963) is most disappointing.
 5. Several scholars, with varying degrees of audacity and skill, have attempted to exploit the cult of saints quantitatively. Their results will be surveyed below. At present it is sufficient to cite the most recent and comprehensive census of the saints, valuable both for its insights into the recognition and perception of sanctity and for its tabulations of canonized saints: P. Deloos, Sociologie et Canonisations (Collection scientifique de la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Liège, 30) (The Hague, 1969). This work, to be abbreviated as DELOOS, will be cited after the pagination of the original thesis titled Perception, et pression sociales comme fonctions de la structure sociale: un millenaire de sainteté catholique en occident (Univ. de Liège, 1964). See also the article by the same author, "Pour une étude sociologique de la sainteté canonisée dans l'église catholique" Archives de Sociologie des Religions, Vol. XIII, 1962, pp. 17-43.
 6. It must be emphasized, however, that a saint's day, the day on which a given saint receives liturgical commemoration, may not necessarily be the same as the death or burial date of the saint concerned. (See below: Chapter II holidays.) R. Aigrain, op.cit., p. 271.
 7. To be sure, the events and circumstances of the future saint's lifetime have helped to shape the popular estimation of his qualities. That popular perception of sanctity may indeed occur during the lifetime of the future saint is demonstrable from the examples of 'living saints' to be discussed later on.
 8. Cf. R. Naz, Dictionnaire de droit canonique, Vol. III, col. 10, (Paris, 1942).
 9. The history of papal reservation of canonization has been lucidly described by E. W. Kemp, Canonization and Authority in the Western Church (Oxford, 1948) (KEMP). Additional information on procedure in M. R. Toynbee, St. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonization in the Fourteenth Century (Manchester, 1929).
 10. Cf. J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages (New York, 1956), p. 183: "The ideal of sanctity has always been incapable of much variation.... The saint and the mystic remain almost wholly untouched by the changing times." Yet throughout this chapter (xiii) Huizinga in fact shows that the saints of the period are truly men of their time, displaying the styles of religious sensibility appropriate to it. Changes in the popular notion of sanctity will be touched on below.

11. Because the Virgin Mary's rôle is at times comparable to that of an ordinary patron saint, fleeting references to particulars of her cult may be made. Nevertheless, the cult of the Virgin is in many respects sui generis and therefore no systematic discussion of her cult can be undertaken here, since, like the veneration paid to Christ in medieval Europe, such a discussion would far exceed the confines of this study.
12. Since 'civic Christianity' like its more famous sister 'civic humanism' immediately evokes the Renaissance, and since the present study would seem to touch upon the vexed question of Renaissance Christianity, it is pleasant to recall the words of David Herlihy: "The extent and importance of religious influences upon Renaissance culture have in recent years attracted considerable attention, although research has perhaps been too narrowly concentrated upon... the writings of the great humanists. Much more attention needs to be paid to the varying forms of devotional exercise and to the changing ideas and styles of sanctity illuminated by them. It is here on the level of religious practice /italics added/ that the sources of a small town like Pistoia /or a larger one like Perugia?/ can make the most valuable contribution." Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia: the Social History of an Italian Town, 1200-1430 (New Haven & London, 1967), p.241. Herlihy explains his meaning of 'civic Christianity' pp.241-58. Perhaps, for the time being, 'civic Christianity' might be thought of as the adaptation of Christianity to an urban milieu, and especially to urban politics and society. Central to it would be the inter-action of Christian religious practices and urban patriotism. Admittedly, patriotism and pride in one's self-governing commune considerably antedate the Renaissance. See the brief but masterly discussion in D.Waley, The Italian City-Republics (London, 1969), pp.139-163. The place of the saints in urban civic sentiment will be an important theme of the second half of this thesis.
13. The notion of a 'hagiographic program' owes much to E.B. Garrison, Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting (Florence, 1953-1954), Vol.I, pp.127-33 ('hagiological programs', p.131 and footnote 8), where the main concern lies in identifying illuminated MSS. by means of the saints depicted or referred to within them. Garrison of course extends and clarifies the same method employed and discussed by Victor Leroquais in his splendid manuscript catalogues (to be cited below). Important also for concept and method is H. Delehaye, "Loca Sanctorum," AB, Vol.XLVIII, 1930, pp.5-64.
14. The work of Percy Ernst Schramm is well known. His approach to political symbolism and the type of evidence he uses may be seen in a brief essay: idem., "Lo Stato post-carolingio e i suoi simboli del potere," pp.149-99 of Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, II (Spoleto, 1955).

CHAPTER I

MANIFESTATIONS OF THE CULT OF SAINTS IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES (1):

Miracles, Images, Personal Names

As an introduction to the cult of saints in the later Middle Ages, and as a means of exhibiting its range and scope, a survey of how that cult appeared in its most typical manifestations ought to be useful. A survey of this sort, however, must necessarily be selective. The ways in which the cult of saints could come into contact with 'the plain man's religion in the Middle Ages'¹ were so various that to catalogue all of them is impractical. For the most part, these manifestations of cult are public and collective, overwhelmingly anonymous. Even the prayers and prayer books of lay, vernacular piety tend to repeat certain formulae. Naming children or churches after patron saints represent individual choices, certainly, but ones which usually can only be appraised within wider patterns. Instances of individual devotion to saints are not lacking. Thus the knight Jean d'Estouteville is depicted kneeling at the feet of St. Michael, patron saint of the Order to which Jean belongs.² Thus the poet Dante encounters his protector St. Lucy in his journey through the nether world.³ Further evidence of individual devotion to saints is obtainable from canonization processes, where the testimony of those who knew the deceased candidate for sainthood and those who are interested in advancing his cult is carefully set down.⁴ Here, and in the records kept at shrines, the accounts of miracles list particular cases where the saint has reputedly effected cures or performed other acts merit-

ing the personal gratitude and devotion of believers. Votive images confirm these expressions of personal attachment.

But those persons who had reason to feel especially attached to particular saints, as individual recipients of miraculous benefits, may not be typical of society at large. In fact the place of the cult of saints in private piety is extraordinarily difficult to assess. For the present, it suffices to say that manifestations of the cult of saints — perhaps because of the nature of the documentation — are most conspicuous in the experience of social groups and communities.

If we look at the narrowly hagiographic documents for the cult of the saints — what the Bollandists consider first in verifying the existence of a given cult,⁵ — we are apt to arrive at only a partial view of how the saints appeared in the medieval religious environment. Mention of a specific saint in a local martyrology or in an ecclesiastical calendar or litany; the presence of that saint's office in a sanctoral; the discovery of hymns or sermons in his praise, or of lessons from his vita (abridged perhaps for chapel reading) in a lectionary — these undoubted signs of liturgical cultus merely hint at a social setting in which the public veneration of saints had an impact upon popular Christianity.⁶ Similarly, the composition of a vita, "proof of the existence of a cult, or, at least, of an attempt to attract one,"⁷ shows that a cult was being actively promoted by a group of clerics and possibly laymen; but in a predominantly illiterate society, a biography may not display the popular meaning of cult as convincingly

as a fair held on the saint's day or a pilgrimage emblem recovered a good distance from the place of pilgrimage. Expressions of popular religious behavior connected with the cult of saints also cast light upon the popular notion of sanctity.

Manifestations of Cult: Miracles.

Miracles, whether they lead to canonically approved liturgical veneration for the deceased miracle-worker or not, fully attest to the social perception of his sanctity. St. Thomas Aquinas died in the Cistercian abbey of Fossanova (¶ March 1274); and on 1 August 1319, the canonization commission sent out to collect evidence pertaining to Thomas's life and death, took the deposition of Peter of Montesangiovanni, an old monk and priest of that abbey. "Asked if he knew of any miracle worked by Thomas at the time of his death or afterwards,

the witness said that while the corpse still lay in the bed in which he had died, and before it was washed, the then sub-prior of the monastery, John of Frerentino, who had lost his sight, and was about to kiss the dead man's feet — as they all were doing because of his holiness — when it was suggested to brother John that he should lay his eyes against the eyes of Thomas. So he did this; and at once he recovered his sight fully and clearly.⁸

The act of healing ascribed to the agency of St. Thomas is less interesting, for our purposes, than the expectations which preceded it and which it apparently confirmed. The kissing of the feet "because of his holiness," the 'experiment' with the eyes — both in fact suggest that, for these men who had known Thomas before his death, the recognition of his sanctity, which the miracle seemingly validated, must already have been achieved. At what

point this perception first became established; to what extent Thomas's reputation or personality or virtues influenced this perception can be surmised but not determined. What matters is that among a group of Italian Cistercians the presumption that the great Paris doctor of the Dominicans might work miracles had been made very quickly.

Outside the saint's immediate circle, probably for most people, miracles were necessary certificates of sanctity. Matthew Paris (s.v. 1238) describes the "fama sancti Roberti Heremite de Cnareburg^c" (Robert of Knaresborough, d.c.1235—"the object of a considerable cultus, which was never officially confirmed"⁹): "Eodemque anno claruit fama sancti Roberti... cujus tumba oleum medicinale fertur abundanter emisisse."¹⁰ And William of Nangis writes in his *Chronicon* (s.v.1260): "Obit Philippus Bituricensis archiepiscopus, cujus sanctitatem post mortem ipsius Dominus diversis signis et miraculis declaravit."¹¹ In a sermon preached at Salisbury on 4 May 1416, Richard Ullerston could urge the canonization of Bishop Osmund (d.1099): "... maxime propter eius sanctitatem crebris miraculis attestatam."¹²

Miracles were signs of sanctity which were simultaneously testimonials of cult. They indicate not only social perception but also social contact, a continuing traffic between those who desire and expect benefactions, and the deceased holy man who apparently has the power to grant them.¹³ The persistence of miracles may publicize and hence diffuse a cult over a fairly wide area, and the fama miraculorum is usually an essential part

of a saint's general public esteem.¹⁴ A compendium of miracle-accounts credited to a particular saint may frequently be drawn up, possibly in conjunction with efforts to attract pilgrims to his shrine or to secure a canonization. This list of miracles or miracula can plausibly be thought of as a census of the saint's most loyal following. Far more than the production of a vita, a miracula confirms the existence of a popularly based cult.¹⁵

In connection with their lengthy struggle to obtain the canonization of their hallowed Bishop Osmund, the canons of Salisbury carefully preserved two inventories of his miracles. The first, probably composed c.1228-29 but including remembrances of miracles dating back to the later twelfth century, records the statements of twenty-nine witnesses who give evidence for, or corroborate, fourteen miracles, the cure of madness being especially prominent.¹⁶ The second register of depositions is notarized December, 1424, and cites thirty-three miracles vouched for by forty-six witnesses.¹⁷ The fact that miracles persist is evidently very important to the success of the canons' efforts. Throughout the prolonged inquiry it is made clear that the joint criteria for the investigators are "vita atque miraculis"; and Andreas of Santa Cruce, an advocate^{*} of the cause, strongly advises them and their ^{backers} ~~backers~~ to have letters sent to the Pope from the King and his most powerful lords temporal and spiritual — letters which state that^{at the shrine There was} "continuacione miraculorum et populorum concursus."¹⁸ (It is striking to see popular religious experience examined and verified from such lofty heights.) On 2 May 1453 the canons were informed that a new commission of investigation might be sent to

*[Insert] of the Consistory Court retained by the English procurators

England to check if Osmund's miracles were continuing; consequently, the chapter was urged by their agents in Rome to have recent miracles ready to present and to be notarized, if the need arose. So two new miracles are included amongst the documents in the chapter archives.¹⁹

Doubtless these miraculae were the acta sanctorum of popular religion. In the case of the capitula miraculorum in genere of Louis of Toulouse (d.1297, can.1317), compiled for his canonization process in 1308, its sixty-eight items reveal a considerable popular following and belief in his holiness.²⁰ The relics of Louis of Toulouse were in 1308 preserved at the Franciscan church of Marseilles.²¹ Here at this time was the center of Louis's cult, where his miracles were reported as being most numerous; farther afield, the cities of Aix, Frejus, Toulon, Riez, and others also claimed some miracles, while only a few miracles were cited from more outlying regions.²² If plotted on a map, the miracles of Louis of Toulouse, as listed in the capitula, would therefore cluster about his tomb at Marseilles, becoming less concentrated, fewer in number, as, in widening circles, they radiated outward from his relics. This not at all untypical pattern underscores the central rôle of the saint's shrine as a locus for his cult. Hence miracles claimed in places relatively distant from the cultic centre are highly interesting, for they signify a process of cult diffusion and so may alert us to the ways and means by which the saint's fama is being circulated.

As well as radiating outward from a cultic center and thus by their pattern of distribution helping us to circumscribe the geography of veneration, miracles, by their relative frequency, also help to periodize the intensity of cult. It may not be demonstrable that miracles occur most frequently during the periods of greatest cultic activity and therefore are the best seismographs of popular fervor, since precisely at these times the impetus to record miracles is greatest. Miracles seem to be most plentiful (1. immediately following the saint's death; (2. during the canonization investigation, if there is a process; (3. at an invention, elevation, or translation of the relics.

The day after the burial of Elisabeth of Hungary (d.1231), a Cistercian monk who had suffered from a mental illness for many years was cured at her grave, indicating that sick people were resorting to her aid immediately.²³ In this instance, as in the case of Hugh of Lincoln (d.1200),²⁴ miracle cures provoked enough enthusiasm to lead to canonization proceedings. When the Franciscan lay-brother Fra Raniero died (1 November 1304) in the convent of his native city of Borgo San Sepolcro and reputedly miracles were occurring at his grave, the town authorities, probably hoping to acquire material for a process, instructed the notary Cortonuccio Bentivegna to draw up a Liber miraculorum.²⁵ This compilation eventually included sixty depositions of miracles arranged in chronological order, witnessed, and certified, dating from 2 November 1304 to 27 May 1305.²⁶ A great many of these lists cover an equally brief span of intense cultic activity. It would be interesting to attempt to discover why the record stops when it

does; whether it is necessary to submit the miracula to the appropriate officials within a certain period or whether a gradual tapering off in the actual rate of putative miracles, or some other factor, is responsible. The Tractatus miraculorum of St. Rufino of Assisi (m. 3rd century?) was written after the invention-translation of the relics of 1212; it demonstrates that a renewal of cult is reflected in a renewal of (recorded) miracles.²⁷

Miracles had long been useful weapons of Christian apologetics. For example, the anti-Arian, anti-pagan thrust of St. Martin's wonders had demonstrated that the power of holiness resided with the orthodox party.²⁸ St. Augustine, worried that contemporary miracles were less known than Biblical ones, and, believing that authenticated miracle stories would nourish popular faith and would publicize the continuing divine guidance of the Church, had himself composed a version of the sort of libelli miraculorum which he favoured.²⁹ The apologetic function of miracles persisted throughout the Middle Ages, especially whenever a divine mandate might be necessary to promote the acceptance of a new doctrine or devotional practice.³⁰ New saints in particular had to struggle to win acknowledgement, to be judged equal to the miracle-working saints of the past, and miracles were vital to their status. The religious orders attempted to rival one another by the multitude of their saints; a fifteenth century Benedictine chronicler boasted that his order had given 55,505 sainted monks to the Church.³¹ Thus the religious carried on an often intense and protracted apologia of their own, exalting the miracles of their sainted brethren and either ignoring or casting doubt upon those

miracles put forward for saints outside their order.

Because miracles testified to divine favor more dramatically and more conspicuously than anything else, they became inseparable from the popular standing of an order and were themselves sometimes subjects of bitter controversy amongst the religious. So a vociferous minority of clerics and friars remained hostile and incredulous — despite repeated papal strictures — towards the chief miracle of the Franciscans, the stigmatization of their founder.³² In his letter to all brethren informing them of the death of Francis (d. 3 October 1226; can.1228) Brother Elias proudly disclosed the secret which until then had been carefully safeguarded by a few intimates of the saint: "Never has the world seen such a sign, except on the Son of God..."³³ The great publicity which this miracle received helped to excite popular demand for Francis's speedy canonization, a reaction which Brother Elias had anticipated and welcomed.³⁴

The stigmatization of St. Francis is first represented in Christian art c.1230-35;³⁵ and, as early as 1260, the Franciscan chapter-general authorized the independent liturgical celebration of the miracle within their order on 17 September ('In festo sacrorum stigmatum b. Francisci').³⁶ By means of Franciscan preaching and commissioned images, the story of his miracle became widely diffused and perhaps contributed to the popular esteem in which the early Franciscans were held. Nevertheless, the miracle aroused some clerical opposition, partially deriving from the unique, exalted rank which it conferred upon St. Francis —

at the expense of Christ, some thought — and partially owing to dislike of the Franciscans, provoked by their privileges and popular support.³⁷ Between 1237 and 1291, no less than nine papal bulls were necessary to defend the miracle and to censure its detractors, who included a Cistercian bishop, secular priests, and acrimonious Dominicans.³⁸ A Dominican preacher, Brother Thomas d'Aversa around 1291 proclaimed from the pulpit that the assassinated Dominican inquisitor St. Peter Martyr (d. 1252; can. 1253) and not St. Francis "had received the true stigmata of the Passion."³⁹

Above all things the Franciscans sought to preserve the uniqueness of the stigmatization of St. Francis, especially in the face of the Dominicans, who continued to vex them by bringing forward reputed stigmatics of their own, of whom the most illustrious was St. Catherine of Siena (d. 1380; can. 1461). Towards these Dominican claims, the Franciscans, as might be imagined, were studiously reserved.⁴⁰ The former minister-general of the Franciscan Order Francis della Rovere was elected pope in 1471 and took the name Sixtus IV; he was naturally sympathetic to the aspirations of the Franciscans, for when their minister-general Zanetto of Udine informed him that, returning from their general chapter at Ferrara (1472), the friars had noticed images depicting St. Catherine of Siena receiving the stigmata, the Pope reacted swiftly and severely.⁴¹ The Franciscans complained:

*Nihilominus a paucis annis citra nonnulli
religiosi quasdam sanctas et maxime S. Catharinam
de Senis in regionibus ultramontanis et diversis
aliis partibus sine consensu et approbatione
diotae Sedis et, ut creditur, sine rei veritate*

cum Stigmatibus Christi ad instar B. Francisci depingunt, et in publicis praedicationibus asserunt eandem S. Catharinam a Christo recepisse et verius quam ipse B. Franciscus, in praeiudicium veritatis et honoris praelibatae Sedis ac in derisum multorum populorum.⁴²

Thereupon, Pope Sixtus, while conceding that his predecessor, the Sienese Pius II

qui eandem S. Catharinam catalogo sanctorum adscripsit et suarum virtutum praerogativas in sua canonizatione luculentissime declaravit specialem de hoc singulari privilegio fecisset memoriam

nonetheless forbade, under threat of excommunication "ipso facto incurrant", any means whatsoever of representing St. Catherine of Siena stigmatized or of preaching upon this subject, until such time as the Holy See granted its approbation and conceded the privilege of so doing.⁴³ This bull, dated 6 September 1472, and twice re-affirmed in 1475,⁴⁴ had still to be renewed in 1480.⁴⁵ The issue gave rise to further quarrels between Dominicans and Franciscans, "the former asserting the stigmatization of St. Catherine and the latter denying it. The Franciscans had not yet forgiven the Dominicans for opposing the stigmatization of St. Francis and this undoubtedly proved a welcome opportunity to show their resentment."⁴⁶ Sixtus IV demanded the co-operation of the Dominican master-general Leonard of Perugia,⁴⁷ and pursued the matter with the Dominican chapter-general, meeting in Perugia in 1478; Pope Sixtus charged that

non destiterunt ipsius S. Catharinae imaginem cum stigmatibus in publicis processionibus deferre et in aliquibus locis depingi facere, et praedicare populis dictam S. Catharinam vera stigmata suscepisse

— and this against his express prohibition.⁴⁸ However when the chapter-general quickly complied with his wishes, and passed the

necessary legislation, the Pope thanked the Dominicans for their obedience, and removed his excommunications.⁴⁹ Yet the ban remained officially in force until Pope Urban VIII (1623-44) allowed pictorial and liturgical mention of the stigmatization of St. Catherine of Siena.⁵⁰

The inter-relationship between miracles and cult has been seen to be of fundamental importance. An interesting hagiographic motif, which^{ch} illustrates quite well that to discredit a saint's miracle-working power is to undermine his cult, is the punitive miracle, which overturns the disbelief and irreverence of mockers and scoffers. St. Louis of Toulouse, for example, punished two persons guilty of incredulity with painful demonstrations of his powers.⁵¹ A man who frivolously sat upon St. Osmund's tomb was seized with a violent headache which endured until he prayed devoutly to the saint for forgiveness.⁵² This theme is a recurring one in hagiography, and a lengthy catalogue of its appearances could probably be gathered from the saints' lives of both the early and later Middle Ages. For the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, André Vauchez has observed that reward usually follows repentance in these stories, and that often the reformed sceptic — perhaps a secular cleric, a member of an older monastic order, or, more rarely, a layman — has suffered for casting aspersions upon a new saint from a mendicant religious family.⁵³ These cautionary tales plainly highlight the disbelief which newer saints especially had to overcome; these tales also show that there were elements of medieval society, possibly people of religious authority, set against the development of new cults.

From early medieval times, of course, punitive miracles cover a far wider ground than simple incredulity.⁵⁴ Persons who had wronged the saint during his lifetime or who now infringed upon the monastic or diocesan property placed under his name and thus under his protection ordinarily come to miserable ends.⁵⁵ Naturally, every sort of violation of Christian virtue could be punished by a saint. But it is important to emphasize that punitive miracles primarily seem to enforce cultic obligations towards the saint himself. Nonobservance of a saint's feast day and its miraculous punishment is a repeatedly encountered theme in the hagiography of the medieval centuries.⁵⁶

Miracles could come to embellish a cult, and indeed lend great glory to it, without ever having had any original link with it. Certain miracles were plagiarized again and again by writers of saints' lives seeking to add to their hero's gloria posthuma; and for such borrowings later medieval hagiographers had ample precedent.⁵⁷ It is consequently not always possible to distinguish purely 'literary' miracle stories from those to which a medieval witness might swear to have experienced directly, except that the latter sort are nearly always more tied to the complaints of daily life, while the former often have a decidedly folkloric or picturesque character. Sometimes the reason why a given miracle-motif could appropriately travel from one saint to another is self-evident: e.g., the miracle of the roses for which St. Elisabeth of Hungary became famous is also found in the traditions of St. Rosa of Viterbo (d. c.1252).⁵⁸ Biblically-derived miracles and wonders duplicating the well-known deeds of the great apostolic saints

were not uncommonly narrated; in fact this may be due to self-conscious hagiographic efforts to demonstrate the conformatio of the new saint with the great saints of the past.⁵⁹ In trying to assimilate a new saint to a weighty tradition, a hagiographer might decide that novel miracles would be a hindrance.

Baudouin de Gaffier has assiduously pursued the widely traveled hagiographic motif of 'the hanged man miraculously saved'.⁶⁰ In this miracle, the saint, by causing the noose to break or by holding the hanged man aloft, saves an innocent man from an unjust death. Described in miraculae and depicted in iconography, attributed to both Jesus and to the Virgin Mary as well as to a good number of saints, the miracle most often has as its focus the theme of the perils of pilgrimage: an innocent pilgrim has been falsely accused by a wicked innkeeper. Parallel situations have, of course, been recounted in the legends of antiquity. But the peculiarly medieval religious climate of the theme is clear quite apart from the fact that Santiago de Compostela lies at the center of many of these stories. What gives these miracles a pronouncedly medieval character is that the saint intervenes at the last moment to ensure that divine justice will prevail, and such intervention constitutes "un vrai 'jugement de Dieu'".⁶¹ This belief in the immanent justice of God, whose instrument the saint was, had helped to justify the ordeals of an earlier period.⁶² Of the saints who posthumously performed the miracle of saving the hanged man and whose death-dates fall within our period of c.1200-1500, de Gaiffier mentions Bridget of Sweden (d.1373), Francis de Paul (d.1507), Hedwig of Silesia (d.1243), Nicholas

of Tolentino (d.1305), Yves (d.1303), Zita of Lucca (d.1272), and the popularly venerated King Henry VI of England (d.1471).⁶³

In the same way that this miracle demonstrates the justice of God by means of the saint's good offices, so the motif of the dead saint ordered to desist (temporarily) from the performance of any miracles shows how perfectly the saint, even from the other side of the grave, upholds the monastic virtue of obedience and heeds his religious superior. St.Edmund of Abingdon (d.1240) and Bl.Thomas of Florence (d.1447), among others, were seen to exemplify this virtue.⁶⁴

To believe that these miracle-motifs circulate in a historical void, without reference to changing ideas or social conditions, would be mistaken. The rise of mass open-air preaching is paralleled by miracle-motifs displaying the powers of the great preachers. The celebrated preacher St.Vincent Ferrier (d.1419) could, it is said, be heard for extraordinary distances; and his Valencian language could be understood by audiences composed of other nationalities.⁶⁵ Yet several anecdotes which Salimbene delights in telling were already in the mid-thirteenth century in circulation about such preachers as Berthold of Regensburg and his miraculous gifts.⁶⁶ Salimbene even tells us about bogus miracles deliberately concocted by preachers in order to overawe crowds.⁶⁷

In the miracle-motif of the ascetic solitary or the unknown pilgrim — inevitably hidden saints who die alone — the manner in which the fact of their holy death is disclosed to the admiring

faithful gradually alters. During the early Middle Ages the sign from heaven which reveals that a holy man has died may be an angelic vision, a dream, a light from on high, celestial voices, or the odor of sanctity. But in the West "at a relatively later epoch" the populace becomes aware of the unknown saint by the sound of church bells ringing of their own accord.⁶⁸ Church bells become commonplace in a more settled and christianized world.

Because more miracles usually meant greater fame, for that same reason greater fame necessitated more miracles. If a growing, successful cult and a more widespread reputation resulted in a demand for a new and amplified vita, then it was most likely that ^{the} legenda secunda would contain far more prodigies than had been included in the legenda prima.⁶⁹ This inflationary process is certainly present in the miracles surrounding the remarkably popular cult of St. Anthony of Padua (d.1231 can.1232).⁷⁰ None of the famous miracles associated with St. Anthony and later represented in religious art — the preaching to the fish, the apparition to him of the Virgin bearing the Infant Jesus, the miracle of the mule bowing before the eucharist, the saint restoring a severed limb with the sign of the cross, and so on —⁷¹ none of these marvels, ascribed to the lifetime of the saint by later writers, appears in the earliest, most contemporary hagiographic sources.⁷² In fact, it has been argued that in the thirteenth century documents, no allusion to a miracle worked by the saint during his lifetime may be found.⁷³ After his death, in less than a year, fifty-three miracles were reported to the

canonization commission, predominantly of ^{cures} ~~cures~~ of the usual kind.⁷⁴ But these miracles at the tomb lacked the qualities beloved by hagiographers, who, furthermore, greatly preferred miracles performed while the saint was alive to those worked near his grave. Consequently, in the fourteenth century Liber miraculorum (written after 1367), out of sixty-five miracles, thirteen are located in the thaumaturge's lifetime.⁷⁵ Here and in subsequent accounts, purely natural incidents become supernaturalized, miraculous episodes are doubled and even tripled, and the commonplaces of hagiography embroider the whole. In addition, borrowings from the lives of other saints invade the miracles of St. Anthony of Padua: from the temptations of his great Egyptian namesake; from the legend of St. Francis, who as the founder of Anthony's order is a suitable model for his acts; and even from Salimbene's chronicle, for Anthony like Berthold of Regensburg was a famous preacher.⁷⁶

The Liber miraculorum of St. Anthony of Padua is also the probable source of the saint's later miracle speciality, the recovery of lost or stolen objects. The twenty-first miracle credits the saint with recovering a psalter which a novice had stolen from him at Montpellier.⁷⁷ According to ^{R.} Néau, however, this specialized patronage arises from a pun on Padova abbreviated to Pade or Pave (cf. French épave: strayed or unclaimed animals).⁷⁸ Van Gennep seems to attribute the success of Anthony's cult in ^SAvoy to this specialised patronage which was not in competition with the more traditional specialities of other saints.⁷⁹ This patronage may well be post-medieval.⁸⁰

That the miracles which a saint was expected to perform, the requests which he was called upon to answer, could assume a particular direction and develop into a speciality was bound to have an important effect upon his cult. For a cult based upon a specialised patronage of need established a limited functional relationship with a saint. A relationship of this kind was not at all the same as a cultic association grounded upon personal protection, or upon social (e.g. occupational, confraternal) or territorial (e.g. civic, diocesan) ties with the saint. Communitarian bonds with the saint would ordinarily not be expected to be of much importance in such specialized cults, unless the whole community faced an identical threat. Individual contact too would be occasional and fleeting. Huizinga seems to regard specialized patronages of need as being characteristic of northern European saint cults in the later Middle Ages.⁸¹

An example might be helpful. St. Emerentiana was a Roman virgin and martyr who was believed to be the foster-sister of St. Agnes; she was venerated on the 23rd of January. St. Emerentiana came to be renowned for effecting cures of stomach ailments. Sox, when suffering from sharp abdominal pains while hunting in the forest of Longué, in Anjou, 1472, Louis XI invoked this saint and his illness ceased. As a sign of gratitude to St. Emerentiana, whom he believed had cured him, Louis had a chapel built and dedicated to her, at the very spot in the forest where he had received his miraculous cure.⁸²

To try to see the circumstances in which this kind of specialized miracle working developed might be instructive. Especially interesting would be an examination of the dossier of the cult in the light of the speciality; perhaps some items of the dossier might help to explain the origins of the saint's peculiar patronage. Of the particular devotion paid to Bl. Raniero of Borgo San Sepolcro by women of the area during pregnancy and childbirth, one scholar has suggested that it sprang from his earliest recorded miracles, where the saint is glorified for reviving two stillborn infants.⁸³ Two miracles from a total of sixty: the chances for predicting a future pattern from evidence as slight as this might dishearten a statistician. Yet the popular imagination may not have been stimulated in direct proportion to quantities; the miracles which struck people's fancy may have been statistically insignificant. Memorability, especially for mothers in despair, may have had more to do with need than with number. Besides, the functional speciality of Bl. Raniero could not have excluded a range of other concerns. His cult remained local, communally and territorially based.⁸⁴ For such a cult there could be no question of an absolute speciality. Specialization must have continued to supplement a general practice.

Perhaps the best examples of saints with specialized functions in the later Middle Ages are the plague saints, most notably Saints Sebastian and Roch. The Roman martyr St. Sebastian was established as a plague saint well before 1348, although how and why he became one are still matters of dispute. Paul the Deacon tells of his intervention in the plague of 680, and that fact was retailed in

the later thirteenth century Legenda aurea of James of Voragine.⁸⁵ Some scholars have maintained, however, that there exists a correspondence between the torments which St. Sebastian endured and his plague function. Mâle and Perdrizet would insist that the arrows which rained upon St. Sebastian in the course of his almost interminable martyrdom (the arrows were irrelevant to the eventual cause of his death) came to be regarded as symbols of the plague; and just as St. Sebastian had himself suffered the plague, in effect, without loss of life, so the saint would appreciate the similar sufferings of others, and would save them.⁸⁶ As with so many hagiographical controversies, there is not enough historical information to permit a decision amongst erudite conjectures. But the general principle, that in cult specializations ~~seem~~ plausible link such as shared suffering connects the saint with the miseries of his client, has much to commend it. For need alone to establish a cultic relationship there must seem to be a personal reason for the saint's compassion and assistance. Thus it may be going too far to speak of such patronages as if they were necessarily more mechanistic or impersonal than the more familiar varieties.

The cult of even so universally celebrated a plague saint as St. Sebastian, furthermore, belies the notion of one saint being everywhere venerated for one speciality. Aside from being the personal patron of anyone who bore his name, St. Sebastian was the occupational patron of archers, upholsterers, quilt-makers, iron merchants, and pavers.⁸⁷ His relics were not only venerated in Rome but also in Tuscany, Soissons, and Toulouse; and doubt-

less they were claimed elsewhere.⁸⁸ Wherever his relics were believed to reside, there, to some degree, his cult would be localized. The plague function of St. Sebastian was, therefore, most important; but it was not co~~o~~terminous with the saint's total cult.

Perhaps the most widely venerated specialist saint in later medieval Latin Christendom actually to have lived and died in that same period was St. Roch:

Qui sert saint Roch, il le garde
De pestilence et de tempeste.
Prenons le donc pour sauvegarde,
Toujours craignant en tous temps peste . . .⁸⁹

Little is known about the actual career of the saint; and what may be surmised must be taken cautiously. The remarks of the Bollandist Coens apropos of "le mystère de la légende de S. Roch" still accurately sum up the state of the question: ". . . ne nous le dissimulons pas: il y faut beaucoup de circonspection et recherches."⁹⁰ More recently, the late Augustin Fliche rehearsed 'the problem of Saint Roch' with his customary skill and learning,⁹¹ but the exig^uous amount of available information makes any conclusion tentative. According to Fliche, St. Roch~~ø~~ (whose name is the surname of a fourteenth century merchant family in Montpellier: Rog or de Rog)⁹² was born in Montpellier c. 1350. The return of Pope Urban V to Rome in 1367 gave a new impetus to pilgrims to visit the shrines of the Apostles; the Pope, moreover, had formerly been a professor at the University of Montpellier, and continued to shower benefactions upon the city where he had once resided.⁹³ So a pilgrimage to Rome around this time by a young man from Montpellier was quite in order. On the way, at both Acquapendente

and Cesena, Roch tended the victims of epidemic and disease, just as he had aided the poor in his native city. He spent three years in Rome (c.1368-71), there assisting the poor and the plague stricken. Returning home, he stopped at Rimini, Novara, and Piacenza, where, continuing to help plague victims, he himself contracted the disease. He resumed his journey homewards after recovering his health. Around 1374 he was nearing Anghiera in Lombardy, but at that time there were hostilities in progress between the Visconti and the Holy See. Taken for a spy, he was arrested and imprisoned. He died after five years wrongful captivity (c.1379).⁹⁴

The Vita sancti Rochi (BHL 7273) by the Venetian humanist Francesco Diedo was written in 1478, in Brescia, while its author was serving in an official post there. It appeared in 1483. For a long time, this vita was believed to be the earliest life of the saint. Then it was shown that the anonymous version, the so-called Acta breviora (BHL 7275), far from being an abridgement of Diedo was in truth his primary source, to which he merely added details of his own invention, errors, classical allusions, and a Ciceronian style.⁹⁵ While the Acta breviora is not devoid of confusions,⁹⁶ and was most probably written in Lombardy about fifty years after the saint's death,⁹⁷ it is nevertheless the most primitive extant literary source of St. Roch's life. As such, it should help to illuminate the origins of a miracle specialization that in the recurrent plague epidemics of the fifteenth century came to be very widely invoked.

St. Roch, in the eyes of the writer of the Acta breviora, is a pilgrim saint who dies while imprisoned through no fault of his own. As in the story of the famous pilgrim St. Alexis (17 July), his body is identified by a kinsman.⁹⁸ But the pilgrimage motif, although central, does not stand alone. The saint has been unjustly punished. Now, in the popular mind of the later Middle Ages, the martyr has become someone who has perished unjustly, a good man cut down. Abel is the exegetical model in this regard: his martyrdom is the first in the Bible and was seen as a prefiguration of Christ's. Hence, this suggestion of martyrdom in the circumstances of Roch's death ought not to be ignored. St. Roch, however, has been much more than a good man in the course of his young life. To the writer of the Acta Breviora, Roch has long enjoyed divine favor. When he was tending the plague stricken in a hospital at Piacenza, an angelic voice had informed him that he too had joined their number. He withdrew to a wood and prepared for death. But a dog - and there are countless hagiographic analogies to this compassionate beast - cared for his needs and brought him food. Yet the highest mark of divine solicitude towards the poor pilgrim undoubtedly occurred in his jail cell in Anghiera, when God decides to grant his faithful servant's last request. The theme of martyrdom helps to make this extraordinary privilege comprehensible:

. . . angelus Domini cum hac voce ad illum venit: Roche, ecce, mittit me pro tua anima Deus: a quo si quid optas in hac ultima tuae vitae parte, nunc id petere debes. Rochus ergo omnipotentem Deum prece devotissima rogavit, ut omnes Christiani, qui pie et reverenter in nomine Jesu memoriam sui fecerint,⁹⁹ a peste liberarentur: et oratione facta exspiravit.

The body of the dead saint was discovered, bathed in a mystic light; nearby there was found a . . . ^utablam aureis literis divinitus perscriptam, in qua scriptum erat, Deum ejus orationi concessisse¹⁰⁰

The Acta breviora thus unequivocally promises that God will grant the petitions of those who pray for freedom from the plague in the name of Jesus and in remembrance of St. Roch. This promise must have been a major factor not only in the diffusion of the saint's cult, but also in the assurance of a cult speciality; the miracles of St. Roch would have ~~per~~culiar efficacy with regard to a specific need. In truth, the story of Roch, as narrated in this short vita, is but a preparation for the promise with which it concludes. Roch's dedicated care of plague victims, his own near-fatal illness - both make the saint's final, unselfish request a logical result of his own experience. Of course, it would be absurd to argue that the vita foreshadows the cult speciality, for by the time the vita was written ("not before 1430," says Fliche), the cult of St. Roch had already commenced.¹⁰¹ The vita, with its miraculous promise of greater miracles to come, is a cult document. It does not establish a speciality. It reads that speciality back into the events of the life which justifies it.

The Acta breviora of St. Roch is not at all unique in introducing into the saint's vita a formal guarantee of success in prayer to those who piously invoke its hero and in binding this

guarantee to a particular speciality. Because it was believed that St. Margaret of Antioch had been swallowed alive by a dragon and had miraculously been delivered unhurt through a sudden fissure in the dragon's back - the saint still holding upwards her small wooden cross, St. Margaret became the patron of midwives and of pregnant women.¹⁰² The Legenda aurea says that shortly before her decapitation she petitioned heaven that quaecumque in partu periclitans se invocaret, illa seam prolem emitteret and this request was granted from on high.¹⁰³

Such guarantees of help in a defined situation of need must have had a vigorous effect in stimulating the cult of those privileged saints who had obtained their extraordinary powers from God. In an interesting essay, Georg Schreiber examines the privilegia sanctorum in the general social context of medieval privilege - corporate immunities, royal and aristocratic rights, letters of dispensation, clerical exemptions, municipal liberties, and so on.¹⁰⁴ Schreiber believes that canon law debates and ecclesiastical controversies concerning privilege (for example, over the privileges of the Franciscans) had some influence on popular perceptions. Thus 'im Sprachgebrauch des späteren medium aevum hört man nämlich vom privilegium oder von der praerogativa dieses oder jenes Heilbringers.¹⁰⁵

Schreiber makes reference to a fifteenth century MS now in Munich which names forty-nine saints, if we count the 11,000 virgins as one, and which endows all of them with a privilegium speciale.¹⁰⁶ Whether or not this list represents a cult grouping

like the Fourteen Holy Helpers (Vierzehn Nothelfer), with which grouping Schreiber compares it, or, perhaps more plausibly, a selective collection of individually privileged saints cannot be decided without a complete scrutiny of the MS in question.¹⁰⁷

And one would of course require liturgical or iconographical evidence that these forty-nine saints were ever invoked simultaneously. Yet the absence of Saints Christopher and Catherine of Alexandria, among other prominent saints, from this roll-call of the privileged is striking;¹⁰⁸ the conclusion that some local basis determined the selection seems inescapable. Of these forty-nine saints, St. Thomas Becket (d.1170), St. Henry II of Germany (d.1024), and St. Wenceslaus of Bohemia (d.929) are the most modern by several centuries. Moreover, of these forty-nine, only Saints Henry, Wenceslaus, and Erhard (d.7th century?), do not appear in the original version of the Legenda aurea and may be regarded as localizations, possibly from the vicinity of Regensburg where the cult of Erhard flourished and where proximity to Bohemia would account for St. Wenceslaus.¹⁰⁹

Both the traditional flavor of the list and the universality of the saints enumerated on it would certainly tend to support Schreiber's notion that the saints to whom popular perception conceded this élite, privileged status were, on the whole, those saints whom the feasts of the ecclesiastical year especially signaled.¹¹⁰

Nevertheless, widespread liturgical veneration alone would not explain the popular belief that particular saints had been granted, indeed guaranteed, success in their miracle specialities.

To demonstrate how each specialist privilege is rooted in a hagiographic tradition of miracles already performed and long publicized - miracles interpreted as precedents and paradigms, Schreiber cites the privileges of St. Andrew (first of the forty-nine in his Munich MS.); St. Patrick (not among the forty-nine saints but mentioned for his specialized ^{miracles} ~~miracles~~ in a fifteenth century MS. from St. Gall);¹¹¹ and St. Catherine of Alexandria (a very popular saint and one of the Fourteen Holy Helpers).¹¹² From this discussion it emerges quite clearly that the passio or vita of the saint is the ultimate authority for the guarantee.

But the miracles of the respective passio or vita have been interpreted in a curious way, so that a speciality might be deduced from them. Perhaps a citation from the fifteenth century Munich MS. would elucidate the method of interpretation:

Beatus Andreas ista prerogativa habet; ...
 A morte liberare, ut patet in iuvene, quem demones
 laceraverunt, et in viris, qui in mari submersi sunt.
 Ab infestacione demonis liberare, ut patet in episcopo,¹¹³
 quem dyabolus in specie virginis inpuignavit....

Schreiber provides seven of the prerogatives of St. Andrew, which may or may not be the total number given him in the MS. Each privilege is summarized with a reference to a miracle which in an odd way authorizes it. Thus the individual miracles found in the vita are exploited as precedents in an almost canonistic manner, as if they were decretals. The miracles can all be found in the Legenda aurea chapter on St. Andrew the Apostle.¹¹⁴ The recitation of prerogatives, plus justifying references to miracles, takes the form of a litany.¹¹⁵ What also must be observed is the multiplication of privileged specialities for each saint. In the long run, such a

development subverts the idea of an exclusive division of miracle labors among saints, each of whom is allotted a guaranteed sphere of activity. For as each saint's list of specialities grows, it is bound to encroach upon the ⁱprivileges of others. Inclusiveness, finally, would logically undermine the notion of speciality itself, turning the list into nothing more than a detailed inventory of the wide variety of services undertaken. Schreiber's litanies of prerogatives would therefore appear to be a late stage in the evolution of the privilegia sanctorum.

These specialized, privileged cults seem to assume greater prominence in the later Middle Ages and almost in fact to become the mark of the period.¹¹⁶ Why this should be so has not been adequately explained. Conjecture is always possible, but not very satisfactory. It seems obvious, however, that for some saints the guarantee or privilege merely formalizes a popular association between the saint and a particular area of need, providing a charter for liberties already being exercised. Doubtless, too, the idea of a relationship between a saint and a speciality begins well before the later Middle Ages. Every sign points to an association between the saint's feast and the agricultural year; the sound of the saint's name and the sound of other words; iconographic attributes interpreted out of context. Each of these areas will bear further investigation. Altogether, the tendency towards specialization might pre-exist the assignment of specialities to any particular later medieval saint; what appears to characterize the later medieval period is a codification of these specialities.

It is possible that guild ^Statutes influenced this development, just as the sudden appearance of incurable maladies like the plague might have promoted specialized patronages in other areas of need. Many of these privileged saints were grouped together into jointly venerated and liturgically invoked pantheons. Yet at the same time one could maintain ~~the~~ ^{that} individual recourse to ad hoc specialist patrons indicates a weakening of the group allegiances which had nourished devotion to the patron-saints of communities. Huizinga sees the growing strength of specialized patronages as the result of a more immanentia Christiani which subdivided divine omnipotence and portioned it out among the various specialist saints.¹¹⁷ Until a great deal of research into this question of specialization among the ⁱmaracles of the saints has been undertaken, no thorough discussion of the matter is really possible. An investigation along comparative lines could also assess the relative strength of cult specializations in the various regions of later medieval Europe. That cult specialization was greater in German-speaking areas and less developed elsewhere may be an optical illusion. Each country seems to have known specialist saints.¹¹⁸ The Legenda aurea, written by a beatified Archbishop of Genoa, was the locus classicus for many cult specializations, as well as the point of departure for others. A gigantic **image** of St. Christopher guarding pilgrims and wayfarers, and protecting all who saw it against the threat of an unshriven death would be encountered, or so it seems, just as readily in a later medieval Italian as in a northern European church. More work on the problem needs to be done.

Miracles in the later Middle Ages remained a vital manifestation of the cult of the saints. The impressive collection of miracles amassed in the Henrici ^{VI} ~~VI~~ Angliae Regis Miracula Postuma, which dates from the closing decades of the fifteenth century, shows how the bulk of the populace continued to regard miracles as a mark of sanctity.¹¹⁹ Thus it might seem to be difficult to document a 'declining sense of the miraculous' for the later Middle Ages.¹²⁰ Still, there can be no doubt that one effect of institutionalizing the need for miracles in a more complex and sophisticated canonization procedure was to stimulate a greater wariness not of the miraculous per se, but of individual miracles. Among the clerics of the papal court charged with their scrutiny, miracles were objects for investigation; a suspicious attitude was not altogether improper.

"As for the really essential part of this business," says the anonymous compiler of the Libellus quatuor ancillarum, who, writing around 1233, offers advice to those interested in securing a canonization, "at the Curia they look for evidence of blameless life and excellence of conduct, rather than miracles, which are, as often as not, feigned by human craft or diabolical deceit."¹²¹ In the thirteenth century Innocent III and Honorius III stiffened the rules pertaining to miracles in canonization processes, the former by insisting upon the sworn statements of witnesses to miracles and even the personal appearance at Rome of some of these witnesses; the latter by requiring that field inquiries be made in the area from which the putative miracles were reported.¹²² Improvements in procedure also anticipated their full development in the fourteenth century.¹²³ Perhaps the most surprising view

of miracles is that expressed by a doubting cardinal in 1245 who later repented of his boldness: "... if the Universal Church had not accepted the memory and story of Blessed Martin, I, at any rate, should say that Blessed Martin had never raised to life three persons."¹²⁴

Despite what may be regarded as an increasingly critical attitude towards miracle claims, the curia continued to insist upon miracles in authenticating a life of sanctity. When Rinaldo of Segni, the Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia and future Alexander IV, opposed the canonization of Stanislaus of Cracow (d.1079, can.1253), Cardinal John of Toledo, who was auditor of the process, told one of the Polish emissaries that Stanislaus must be persuaded to work a final miracle to convince his chief opponent. Shortly thereafter, the Cardinal of Ostia was cured of an illness through the intercession of Stanislaus, and the latter's canonization was assured.¹²⁵

The fourteenth century sees the canonical employment of still more stringent controls. By then it had become the normal practice during a canonization enquiry to keep the candidate's life and his miracles distinct and separate. Found in all the processes submitted to the Avignonese Popes, with the exception of the causes of Celestine V and Elzéar of Sabran, the new procedural division meant not only a more efficient use of witnesses but also a greater clarity and precision in judging a potential saint's moral qualities quite apart from his supernatural gifts.¹²⁶

Moreover, it must have had the important consequence of disentangling the miraculous from the ordinary run of events, of isolating, and it may be, of restricting the province of the supernatural.¹²⁷

In a theological work written in 1320, Augustinus Triumphus differentiates the canonization methods utilized by the church of his own day from those employed by the early church. The saints of the early church were largely martyrs, he says, and so an elaborate investigation was unnecessary; but at present, Satan works miracles and in consequence more care is needed.¹²⁸ Further evidence of a new restraint and caution towards miracles on the part of some ecclesiastics can be taken from the registers of John Grandisson, Bishop of Essex (1327-69); these show that reports of miraculous cures wrought at a rector's tomb led to the speedy setting up of a commission of enquiry, the thorough sifting of the evidence, and the proof of one instance of fraud.¹²⁹ On another occasion, Bishop Grandisson wrote to the dean and sub-dean:

... nor shall you ... proclaim or assert as a miracle any deed hitherto wrought in the aforesaid Church ... until we have been informed of the circumstances of this deed, and have thought fit to declare first that it is of God and not of any artifice ... For since, before canonization, such solemn worship may not legally be paid even to proved miracles ..., every wise man must plainly see how much more blameworthy we must think it thus to worship where the miracles are not proved to be true.¹³⁰

Of course incidents of this sort reflect episcopal and not popular restraint. It could be that the diffusion of scholastic learning among members of the higher clergy encouraged a distrustful at-

titude towards what the people quickly accepted. Basic distrustfulness towards the miraculous, it has been alleged, found a victim in Joan of Arc (d.1431).¹³¹

Suspicion, even some scepticism towards the miraculous — especially in regard to miracles unhallowed by tradition — certainly existed in clerical and lay circles. It is sufficient to recall the previous discussion of miracles which punish incredulity to demonstrate that disbelief (particularly concerning the miraculous powers of new saints) was far from unknown. Yet, whatever the views of mocking individuals¹³² or of suspicious, if not always disinterested groups, later medieval public opinion consistently demanded miracles from its candidates for sainthood; and canon law, though it managed in the course of canonization inquiries to put new miracles on trial, fundamentally acquiesced in and indeed ratified this popular demand.¹³³

Manifestations of Cult: Images.

Images of the saints in the later Middle Ages and Renaissance appear in the midst of a greatly enriched pictorial landscape, in a period of intense artistic production and achievement. In this era of frescoes and painted panels, stained glass and sculpted figures, iconographic rings, seals, coins, pilgrimage emblems, communal and confraternal banners, illuminated manuscripts and talismanic woodcuts, the images of the saints were everywhere.¹³⁴ There can be no doubt that the cult of saints with its continuing

demand for images of patrons and protectors enormously stimulated the production of works of art.¹³⁵ It seems equally clear that these images of saints, in turn, exercised a considerable hold over the imagination of the faithful. In the later medieval literature of visions, dreams, and revelations, the mystics invariably encounter saints who in their dress and emblems are identical with their portraits in Christian art.¹³⁶

If, as Huizinga contends in a famous phrase, religious thought at this time was crystallizing into images,¹³⁷ it is certainly true that there were simply far more images about in the later Middle Ages than in earlier centuries. Artists, too, now had far greater skill in translating religious ideas into pictorial form more realistically and hence more persuasively than previously. Yet there is reason for caution in approaching the period. Christian iconography had been a vessel for religious ideas from the time of the catacombs,¹³⁸ and the impulse to provide figural 'texts' for the illiterate, an impulse which in the West extends at least to St. Paulinus of Nola (d.431), finds its classical expression in a pronouncement of (c.600) Pope Gregory the Great.¹³⁹ 'For what writing supplieth to him which can read, that doth a picture supply to him which is unlearned, and can only look.'¹⁴⁰ Thus William Durandus cites the teachings of Pope Gregory in the former's influential Rationale divinarum officiorum, written c.1286.¹⁴¹ Perhaps, therefore, it is worth recalling that the desire to embody Christianity within a system of images, for devotional as well as for pedagogic reasons, long antedated the remarkable upsurge of popular imagery which is a hallmark of the later Middle Ages.

The iconography of saints was a visual hagiography. Unless the attributes of a given saint were already conventional and the scenes from his life or martyrdom very well known, the artist or whoever guided his hand depended upon an accessible vita, and so collections such as the Legenda aurea were indispensable to image-making. That iconographers had to be selective in their use of a hagiographic text, choosing the most vivid incidents or those otherwise most suitable for illustration, is understandable. Their success may be gauged by the fact that certain scenes became so familiar on their own that it is possible not to appreciate that they are actually episodes of a longer story. When, for example, some Italian ecclesiastical seals depict the stoning of St. Stephen or St. Martin dividing his cloak or St. Bartholomew exhibiting his skin,¹⁴² the scenes represented may be regarded as alluding to a fuller narrative of events; or they may be considered self-contained anecdotes, sufficiently memorable and individualized to establish a specific saint's identity. In either case, their common reference is hagiographic.

The links between iconography and hagiography are plainest when an entire sequence of episodes from a saint's life is arranged in continuous fashion and a so-called cycle is constituted.¹⁴³ These cycles of episodes from the lives of saints have embellished Western churches certainly from the ninth century, and, it may be, earlier still.¹⁴⁴ On the sacristy of the abbey church of Conques there is a fifteenth century wall painting of the martyrdom of St. Foy (Fides) in seven scenes divided between two registers. A band of text, now illegible, was placed between the upper and the

lower registers to explain the scenes, even though the legend was followed rather closely and Conques was a major shrine of this saint. The first scene is a miracle illustrating St. Foy's charity; the second shows her refusing to sacrifice to the goddess Diana and being brought before the prefect; in the third, fourth, and fifth scenes she is tortured and imprisoned; in the sixth, she is executed; and in the last scene her relics are elevated in recognition of her martyrdom. Only in the penultimate episode has the artist departed from the passio, altering the locale, and representing companions other than those specified by her legend.¹⁴⁵ Out of seven scenes, four deal with the saint's suffering and death, and two with her sanctity (miracle, relics); the second episode, her accusation and refusal to sacrifice, both initiates her suffering and confirm her sanctity: hence it cannot be thought of as removed from the theme of suffering or sanctity. Here the slight narrative element is kept strictly subordinate to hagiographic ends. Edification rather than story-telling governs the selection of incident.

Prominent in the creation of iconographic cycles in the later Middle Ages were the religious orders. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the orders which had adopted the rule of St. Augustine — the Canons Regular and the Augustinian Hermits — had the life and posthumous miracles of their putative founder translated into iconography. For their literary sources they drew on the Confessions; the Vita by Possidius; and various apocryphal sermons and legends. In keeping with the purpose of edification, none of the escapades of the pre-conversion Augustine, most no-

tably the theft of the pears, are rendered in any of the cycles. But what was of crucial importance to the Canons and the Hermits was to insist that the saint had indeed composed their rule and had founded their respective orders. Thus, backed up by apocryphal texts, the iconographic cycles commissioned by the Augustinians proclaim that the monks' asseverations pertaining to both rule and foundation can be 'documented' by scenes which depict St. Augustine among 'his' monks and in the act of bestowing the regula to religious clad in the appropriate later medieval costumes.¹⁴⁶ Pavia claimed the relics of St. Augustine; and some years after 1362 a cycle was sculpted to ornament a marble tomb which was then erected as his monument. It is not surprising that of all the Augustinian cycles catalogued, this sculpted one at Pavia should include the greatest number of posthumous miracles, for such miracles would naturally commend the tomb as a place for pilgrimage.¹⁴⁷

With these iconographic cycles much of one's interest centers upon examining "the principle of selection which lies behind the choice of ... scenes."¹⁴⁸ Because the need for compressed statement tends to highlight the points which the artist and his religious supervisors want to emphasize, the hagiographic intent of the composition frequently emerges with a peculiar sharpness of outline. Not only cycles, however, should be examined with reference to hagiography; also isolated scenes ought to be compared with the literary sources.

Around 1394 a large image of St. Christopher was painted on the entrance wall of the home of Francesco Datini in Prato to guard the house 'from hail or fire, hunger or pestilence.'¹⁴⁹ A fifteenth century ring, found at Hume Castle in Berwickshire, shows St. Christopher bearing the Christ Child, a not unusual subject for the cautious traveller.¹⁵⁰ In neither of these representations does the saint appear as a "cynocéphale anthropophage [a dog-headed man-eater] que la grâce du baptême transforme en un autre homme."¹⁵¹ It is in this gruesome guise that St. Christopher's first and assuredly fabulous passio had presented him. Probably the etymology of the saint's name, Christ-bearer, suggested a new iconography which a newer passio was written to elucidate.¹⁵² Now it is sometimes stated that the huge dimensions of the later medieval images of St. Christopher are explicable by the saint's protection against sudden death — the large size of his image insuring the visibility which would confer protection for a day. True enough, but the newer legend of the saint, the one included in and popularized by the Legenda aurea, states quite explicitly that the saint was actually a giant twelve cubits tall.¹⁵³ To explain the size of St. Christopher's images wholly in relation to their function would therefore be mistaken.

As the example of St. Christopher indicates, iconography can generate legends as well as reproduce them. Moreover, as in the early medieval mosaics at Ravenna,¹⁵⁴ iconography can assume a formidable importance in its own right, especially when the saints have been given attributes to serve as identity cards. The problem of attribution brings out the relative independence of iconography

from hagiography. Paradoxically, despite the fact that the choice of an attribute may derive from a hagiographical text, the removal of a particular emblem from its literary context may obscure its ultimate origins, which, in any case, could be rather oblique.

On 7 March 1457, the feast day of St. Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274, can. 1323), in the Dominican church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, Lorenzo Valla delivered an Encomion sancti Thomae Acquinatis, which proves, among other things, that the great humanist was by no means innocent of medieval saintlore. In his encomium Valla rhetorically compares the refulgence of St. Thomas's doctrine to a most splendid sun.¹⁵⁵ Surely this comparison alludes to one of St. Thomas's most common iconographic attributes, a star or small sun on his breast or above his right shoulder.¹⁵⁶ The origins of this attribute, it seems reasonable to suppose, may be traced to an account of a vision which a Dominican named Albert of Brescia had of St. Thomas. Albert's vision was described to the clerics examining the sanctity of Thomas by another Dominican, Anthony of Brescia, on 5 August 1319. Anthony told the canonization commission that Brother Albert "was an ardent Thomist and would often say, in the course of his lectures, 'Dear brothers, I know that this man is a great saint in heaven.'" Pressed to explain his words, Albert had said that once he had enjoyed a vision in which St. Thomas had appeared to him and had "'on his breast a great jewel that lit up the church.'" St. Thomas's companion — and fellow intellectual — was St. Augustine, who obligingly revealed the meaning of the jewel: it signified 'the purity of ... Thomas's intentions as defender and declarer of the faith.'¹⁵⁷ Now, it

would be hard to deny that St.Thomas's attribute, if it does originate in Albert's vision, has an individual and specific meaning instead of a general and allegorizing one;¹⁵⁸ but light and doctrine are friends of long standing, practically equivalent terms. On the whole, the personal and hagiographical basis for the selection of the attribute is fairly weak.

The problems which the artists and their advisers faced in creating individual attributes and assigning them to the host of later medieval saints and blessed for whom images were required must have been considerable. On the other hand, to provide a given saint with the proper insignia of his religious or liturgical category, his type, was a relatively simple task. For bishops, deacons, monks, friars, hermits, and so on, there were conventions of dress and often of emblem. Naturally, members of differing religious orders were shown in their distinctive costumes. Still, there might have been room for confusion as between mitred abbots and bishops.¹⁵⁹ And some sub-classes, such as widows among the religious, do not seem iconographically very well defined. Also, the various kinds of laymen might have caused difficulty, although occupation and social status could be shown in contemporary clothing. But the main problem was individualizing, and hence personally identifying for a predominantly illiterate audience, saints whose group identity was most often unambiguous.

With so powerful a figure as St.Dominic (d.1221, can.1234), the founder of a great order, no problem, one would have thought, could have existed. Medieval representations of St.Dominic, however,

are "neither individual nor constant."¹⁶⁰ Fra Angelico's several paintings of the saint are not iconographically consistent, and the search for a personal attribute for St. Dominic does not seem to have proved especially fruitful. From the fourteenth century on, he is frequently depicted holding a lily, the general sign of a confessor revered for his chastity.¹⁶¹ The hagiographers of St. Dominic mention a star which his mother (some say his nurse or godmother) saw and this star, in the background of his images until around 1400, eventually moves to his nimbus and then to his forehead.¹⁶² Since medieval images of St. Dominic would be mostly painted for Dominican churches and convents,¹⁶³ part of the need to individualize the saint would have been obviated. Nevertheless, the star on his forehead was not in bold contrast with the radiance on St. Thomas Aquinas's breast; and the image of the latter saint, who was dressed in an identical habit, could reasonably be expected to be in the same Dominican church. Would ordinary Christians have been able to tell the two saints apart?

It might be suggested that the iconography of any particular saint was, in the long run, only as striking as the vita from which it ultimately came. Remarkably, neither the first biographer of St. Dominic (Jordan of Saxony), nor the biographers who followed him, matched the popularity which Thomas of Celano attained for his earlier vita of St. Francis.¹⁶⁴ When there was no vita and very little oral tradition to exploit, the problem of selecting individualizing attributes was naturally compounded. This was the situation confronted by Stefano di Giovanni (Sassetta) when he was asked to paint a new retable for the church of San Francesco of Borgo San Sepolcro which would represent Saints Francis and

John the Baptist, plus the local beatus, Fra Raniero. The retable was finished in August, 1444 and constitutes a definite sign of continuing cult for the Bl.Raniero. The artist could choose none of the solutions which might have been open under other circumstances: a visual pun on the saint's name (such as a wolf for St.Lupus); or an allusion to a peculiar mode of martyrdom; or to a specialist patronage.¹⁶⁵ All that Sassetta knew about Raniero was that he was a pious Franciscan lay brother who had left some miracle stories behind him. The artist did what he could. He painted Raniero in his Franciscan habit holding a pater-noster, a prayer-counting device, usually of beads strung on a cord or chain, although not the same as a rosary. The habit identified his order, while the paternoster, especially associated with lay brothers, indicated his status within the order.¹⁶⁶ To go beyond category and attempt a degree of individualization, the artist resorted to the much used device of painting some scene in which the saint figures on the predella. So there are three synopses of Bl.Raniero's miracles on the predella of the retable. Interestingly enough, only one of the three miracles represented comes from Fra Raniero's miracula; the other two stories perhaps belonged to local oral tradition.¹⁶⁷

For local saints like Bl.Raniero, identification on this rather rudimentary level was all that was really necessary. Other elements of cult — confraternity chapel, altar dedication, feast day, etc. — would provide a total context in which the local memory of the saint would be kept fresh. Given this local backgroundnd, visual recognition was assured, at least in the community where

the cult was centered — and maybe farther afield. Poggio Bracciolini (d.1459) tells a facetious story about a merchant from Ancona, who, during a storm at sea which almost finished him, makes an impulsive vow to provide a house for the patron of his city, St. Cyriac (Quiriacus, bishop and martyr of Jerusalem).¹⁶⁸ The point of Poggio's little story turns upon the saint's iconographically distinguishing feature: the long beard with which he is shown ("barba promissa depictum"); for when the curate of the merchant's parish~~x~~ has learned of the vow through the confessional and plagues the merchant to fulfill his promise, the latter replies: 'Do not bother me any further with this matter. I have humbugged many people in the world with beards a good deal longer than St.Cyriac.'¹⁶⁹ The story may seem silly to us, but what it discloses is significant. Poggio mistakes neither the locality of cult nor the distinctive iconography of a saint whose fama at least in Italy must have been of the second magnitude.¹⁷⁰

Compared to St.Cyriac, St.George was definitely in the first rank, a saint venerated throughout Christendom. By the later Middle Ages he must surely be placed among the universal saints; and the iconographic equivalent to universal cultus was universal recognition. Now of course this does not mean that everywhere in later medieval Europe St.George would be portrayed in an absolutely unvarying fashion. It does mean, however, that the basic attributes and costume, the scene with the dragon, would in their main lines be recognizable in most places, to most of the faithful. St.George after all was the personification of the triumphant Christian warrior.¹⁷¹ Thus in a sermon on St.George, Bernardino of Siena

(d.1444) could offer an interpretation of the saint's virtues grounded upon his iconography:

Scutum est album cum cruce rubra. Albus
color designat conscientiam bonam et puram...
Cruce rubra est ardens affectus in recordatio-
ne passionis Christi. ... Lancea est sanctum
exemplar.... etc.¹⁷²

An allegory of this sort depends upon the audience's knowledge of the conventional attributes of St. George. Bernardino knew his audiences and knew what they would know. His sermon is valuable evidence that for some saints full recognition had been achieved by the later Middle Ages.¹⁷³ It is true, however, that only a small number among the great many saints represented in religious art in the later Medieval period belonged to this class of universally recognized saints.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, within this class of unmistakable individuals, the older saints, the apostles, martyrs, and early confessors of Christendom were overwhelmingly preponderant (for a northern European sample, cf. Table C.). These older, universal saints also enjoyed liturgical veneration across Christendom.

Some scholars have suggested that the popularity of a given cult is in part a measure of that saint's images.¹⁷⁵ The more arresting the scene or the attributes, so this argument goes, the more likely the diffusion and success of the cult. This hypothesis may be challenged on several grounds. First, successful iconographic motifs were able to travel from one saint to another, just as hagiographic motifs could. For example, in the "Dream of Innocent III" St. Francis or alternatively St. Dominic support the tottering Church of the Lateran.¹⁷⁶ Scenes passed easily from St. Francis to St. Catherine of Siena; among saints with the same name; and

saints credited with similar miracles.¹⁷⁷ There was no reason for striking imagery necessarily to remain attached to one saint when another could justify appropriating the images for himself. Secondly (and here it is convenient to limit discussion to the cults of 'new' saints originating in the later medieval period): if diffusion of cult is a measure of that cult's success, then the fact that a particular saint's images may be found scattered throughout Christendom does not seem to be an independent consequence of powerful iconography. Rather, to a very great extent, with respect to the 'new' saints of the later Middle Ages, profusion and diffusion of images seem to be reasonable indices of the zeal with which cults were being promoted.

To support this point, let us compare the histories^{es}, images, and cults of two later medieval saints, both named Peter and both murdered by heretics. Peter Parenzo was of the Roman nobility. In 1199 he became podestà of Orvieto; and because of the severity with which he proceeded against the Cathari of that city, they assassinated him in the same year.¹⁷⁸ There is no doubt of the Orvietan's veneration for their slain podestà. Miracles were reported; the blood spilled at his death was treasured as a relic; a legend was written.¹⁷⁹ A year and a half after his murder, his feast (21 May) was observed in Orvieto, and his pascio (for he was held to be a martyr) was included in the lectionary of the cathedral before the middle of the thirteenth century.¹⁸⁰ On 5 June 1347, the commune of Orvieto, immensely grateful to the saint for their deliverance from an impending famine and civil war, vowed an annual tribute of wax on the feast day of St. Peter Parenzo.¹⁸¹ Apparently

the images of the saint were confined to the city in which his cult was located. What may be the earliest surviving image of the saint is a fresco which dates from the fourteenth century. Peter is shown with a nimbus, holding a sword, and dressed in a cloak lined with fur; he is youthful; he is the type of a medieval Christian warrior.¹⁸² Iconographically, the scene is not especially vivid. It certainly fails to render the dramatic way in which the heretic-hunting podestà met his death. The representation is even somewhat ambiguous, for Peter's sword could allude to his nobility, his civic office, or his martyrdom.¹⁸³

Peter of Verona was a Dominican Inquisitor, stabbed to death, also by a heretic, in 1252. He was murdered on the route between Como and Milan. In 1253, he was canonized as a martyr. His cult was endorsed and vigorously supported by the Papacy, and propagated throughout Christian Europe by his fellow Dominicans.¹⁸⁴ It is not surprising to discover his image, made around 1472, at Long Melford, Suffolk.¹⁸⁵ Instantly recognizable iconographically, the images of St. Peter Martyr are graphic and effective, fully comparable as visual hieroglyphs to those of St. Lawrence with his grill or St. Catherine of Alexandria and her wheel. The slaughtered inquisitor is represented with a knife or an ax embedded in his skull, or perhaps protruding from his shoulder — the horror of his martyrdom equally affecting as the horrors inflicted upon the great martyrs of the past.

Simply because the iconography of St. Peter Parenzo was neither exceptionally potent nor especially individualized, and be-

cause the reverse was true for St. Peter Martyr, one ought not to conclude that the narrow fama of the former saint and the widely diffused fama of the latter has, therefore, been explained. It would be senseless to maintain that the great contrast in the fortunes of the two cults is reducible to a difference in iconography. The real contrast lies in another direction. St. Peter Parenzo was a layman. No one beyond the city in which he was murdered evidently had any interest in or any reason for promoting his cult; and Pope Innocent III cut short the first attempts of the Orvietans to initiate a canonization process.¹⁸⁶ The nimbus which appears on the local images of Peter Parenzo signifies nothing more than local episcopal approval. Diffusion of cult in these circumstances was out of the question. The success or failure of iconography is beside the point. For St. Peter Martyr, on the other hand, a network of Dominican convents dispersed throughout the major centers of Latin Christendom was a formidable agency of cult promotion. One may judge the extent of papal backing for the murdered Dominican, ^{not} only by the speed with which ^{his} ~~the~~ process was brought to a conclusion but also by the natural desire of the Papacy to uphold in the cult of a martyred inquisitor the papal commitment to an institution pledged to root out heresy.¹⁸⁷

Regardless of iconographic impact, devotional images of saints themselves indisputably attest to veneration, to cult in its broadest sense. For, along with miracles reported and collected near the tomb of the saint where the relics are housed, a quickly executed image, like a hastily composed vita, is a confirmation of cult activity.¹⁸⁸ The sarcophagus of St. Rita of Cascia (d. 1457,

can.1900), for instance, carries her painted image on the lid and on the side. Probably these representations date from very soon after her death; and so these images of St.Rita constitute far better testimony to immediate devotion and cult than her much later and less reliable biography would do.¹⁸⁹

Naturally, images which display and, at the same time, promote devotion to a saint must be cautiously interpreted as indicators of that saint's general popularity. Merely to calculate the number of a saint's representations — and this would be no easy matter in itself — and use the total obtained as an accurate measurement of the saint's popularity in relation to other saints would be dangerously misleading. For one thing, panel paintings (cf. Table A) might reflect one audience and woodcuts (cf. Table B) another — the former could indicate dispersed groups of relatively more well-to-do people, while the latter could point towards a slightly lower stratum of the populace, but not necessarily so. A cheaply made wall-painting is not strictly comparable to an elaborate altarpiece. Moreover, a calculation of this kind would ignore the purpose for which images were commissioned. Ruling dynasties, religious orders, secular clerics, guilds, municipalities, and private individuals — all commissioned images for a variety of motives ranging from the symbolic assertion of collective identity to political propaganda, from group pride to personal gratitude. Of course the sheer multiplication of a particular saint's image would be bound to increase his public recognition. Yet what remains crucial is the connection between a saint's image and the group or individual who had it made.

For example, one would expect to find Franciscan saints represented in Franciscan convents and churches. Indeed, one would be shocked not to find them there. Images of Franciscan saints in houses and churches belonging to that order are consequently no safe guide to the popularity of these saints in the Christian community at large. It is possible, however, to begin to appreciate the strength of Franciscanism and Franciscan saints when in English religious art, mostly from parish or secular churches having no obvious links with the Franciscans, Saints Francis, Claire, Elisabeth of Hungary, Louis of Toulouse make repeated appearances.¹⁹⁰

Quite often the motive for commissioning an image is transparent, for the representation itself, either implicitly or explicitly, proclaims the bond of association between the saint and the corporation or individual who celebrates him. A Parisian breviary from the end of the thirteenth century contains a miniature which shows the people of Paris at the feet of their patron, St. Geneviève.¹⁹¹ The magnificent altarpiece in Naples painted by Simone Martini depicts St. Louis of Toulouse in the act of renouncing the Neapolitan throne and of placing the Angevin crown firmly upon his brother's head. A political statement which clearly attempts to endow the Angevin dynasty with the glory and power of its saint, the Simone Martini altarpiece of 1317 illumines the political uses of cult promotion, and the place of iconography within such a purpose.¹⁹² The impressive fresco by Andrea da Firenze in the Spanish Chapel of the Dominican Church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence (executed c.1366-68) which is sometimes called 'Christian Learning'

and sometimes 'The Triumph of St.Thomas' exhibits "a basic relationship between strict orthodoxy, militant opposition to heresy ... and [the] miraculous power ... [of] sainthood."¹⁹³ It also glorifies the Dominicans as the chief exponents of these qualities, which their saints virtually embody.

That Papal seals from pre-Hildebrandine times should emphasize St.Peter and the reception of the keys is hardly astonishing; yet in the counterseal of the chapter of St.Peter of Rome (1279) both Saints Peter and Paul have been relegated to the sidelines and the head of Christ made central.¹⁹⁴ Do we see in this new arrangement the transition from 'Vicar of St.Peter' to 'Vicar of Christ'?¹⁹⁵

Among the early images of St.Catherine of Siena, the works of artists of the Sienese school are most conspicuous.¹⁹⁶ The same year in which she was canonized (1461), her image by Lorenzo di Pietro (Vecchietta) is painted for the Palazzo del Comune of Siena.¹⁹⁷ This Sienese assiduity in producing images of St.Catherine draws attention to a great civic pride in their native daughter, a civic pride which culminates on 19 March 1462, when by official decree St.Catherine takes her place among the patron saints of her city.¹⁹⁸

Both guilds and pious confraternities were immensely important in commissioning images which exalted their respective patrons and symbolized their group allegiances.¹⁹⁹ For Florence, nothing illustrates the significance of guild patronage for the new Renais-

sance artists better than the niches on the exterior of Or San Michele. During the course of the Quattrocento those niches gradually were being filled with the sculpted images of the guild patrons, among them the famous St. George which Donatello chiselled in 1416 for the guild of armorers and sword-makers.²⁰⁰

Iconographic attributes had a special task in these symbolic representations of group loyalties. Not so important was the recognition of the saint in question: he would be known to all the members of the group. But the emblems displaying the relationship between this patron-saint and his collectivity were foremost. In fact, likely iconographic attributes were themselves a common source for patronage choices.²⁰¹ St. Leonard had long been the saint to whom prisoners addressed their prayers for liberation; in consequence, he was usually depicted with the links of chain which identified him and his special concern. German peasants, however, read their own meaning into these chains and adopted St. Leonard as patron of oxen and horses.²⁰² In France, at St.-Merri, the local manufacturers of brass buckles predictably saw their own product in St. Leonard's chains, and just as predictably St. Leonard became their patron.²⁰³ Means of showing to the world that the group and its saint were joined by the bond of patronage could include dressing the saint in the costume of the order or guild; providing the saint with the characteristic tools of the trade; giving the saint a model of his city or his church or his convent to hold; and decorating the saint's robes with a national or dynastic insignia. In these and in other ways the saint would be visibly naturalized into the community of his clients. Dress-



ing and acting as the members of his collectivity did, the saint would be theirs, regardless of the fact that he might also be claimed by others.

Individuals, too, had their reasons for commissioning images in honor of saints. The tie of association between the donor of the image and the saint being represented is most obvious when both share the same name. To disentangle the promptings of genuine devotion towards a baptismal patron ²⁰⁴ from possible motives of self-display in such commissions is not within the historian's power. On a painted panel in the Church of Saints Maria and Donato of Murano, there is a full-length portrait of a saint flanked by two kneeling donors. The panel is inscribed: CORANDO MCCCX INDICION VIII IN TEPO DE LO NOBELE HOMO MISER DONATO MEMO HONORADO
PODESTA DE MVRAN^{FACTA}FO QUESTA ANCONA DE MISER SAN DONADO.²⁰⁵ It is inviting to think that the podestà of Murano in 1310 was either giving honor to or being simultaneously honored with the saint whose name he bore.

The twin medical saints Cosmos and Damian certainly benefited artistically from the prestige of some well-known Florentine Medici, and their chief, Cosimo. The many images of St. Cosmos at the Dominican convent of San Marco, which was re-built between 1437-1452 almost entirely through the benefactions of Cosimo dei Medici, contributed also to the glory of an earthly patron.²⁰⁶ The role of the saint as the personal patron of his namesake is iconographically elucidated in the later Middle Ages through the subordinate position of image donors, at the side or at the bottom

of the scene. The donor's gestures recall vassalic homage, even if conventional respect might be all that is intended. During the course of the fifteenth century, patron saints of members of a family were brought together to form a joint protectorate, but it may be going too far to see this development as "a sign of a private devotion of a family character."²⁰⁷ By no means can the Medici be considered a typical family. Yet one of the many works of art which they commissioned might serve as an example of saints and families in images. Roger van der Weyden's 'Madonna of the Medici' includes Saints Cosmos and Damian, of course; but with them are also Saints Peter and John the Baptist — the name saints of Cosimo's two sons.²⁰⁸

On occasions the circumstances underlying the choice of saint for an image cannot be deduced from the image itself. Why, for instance, beneath the stained glass portraits of Saints Ducius [sic] (mistake for Dubricius? d.c.545), Francoiscus, and Petrus Mille [sic] (should be Mart) at the church of Long Melford, Suffolk, should there be: Orate pro anima Elizabethae Drury et Henrici Hardman ... et Willi [sic] Twaytes ?²⁰⁹ Were these saints desirable as powerful intercessors or was there perhaps some hidden, personal reason for soliciting their prayers? It does not appear to be a votive intent which operates in this instance.

Votive images, donated as a thank-offering for special favors received or in hope of special graces to come, were much more numerous than surviving example^s would seem to indicate. In Italian churches the walls would be covered with votive pictures; when

space ran out, unsightly frescoes and pictures which no longer attracted devotion would be whitewashed over; the pictures visible on the surface, therefore, might be only a small percentage of those whose remnants lie beneath them.²¹⁰ A story concerning the Florentine Piovano Arlotto (Arlotto Mainardi, d.1484) involves just such a time of whitewashing ugly and unrevered votive images.

The Piovano comes across an image of Santo Sano (St. Ansanus, d.303) and tells the master mason:

I want this one to be destroyed. Since I've been Piovano here I have never seen a candle lit here. Nor have I ever realized a cent from it. Consequently, master, go ahead and destroy it.

But, as the ^{mason} ~~master~~ reaches for his hammer, a pious woman arrives at the church and says:

Piovano, I have to fulfill a vow for a very beautiful favor I received at the time of the pest from a Santo Sano that you have here in the church (una bellissima grazia ricevetti al tempo della peste da UNO SANTO SANO VOI AVETE QUI IN CHIESA).²¹¹ I've brought forty shillings (soldi 40) here for you to say thirty masses in his honor, and a lamp which you should light for these masses ... Don't destroy him at all

After she has gone, the Piovano comments: "If I hadn't bared my teeth to this Santo Sano, he would never have understood me."²¹² From this anecdote it is possible to catch a glimpse of the ways in which votive images functioned in religious behavior (lights, masses); and also to observe that the saint and his image were virtually identical in the non-theological minds of ordinary folk. Moreover, the image is seemingly endowed with the power to save itself. Finally, the votive image of Santo Sano in the Piovano Arlotto's church had already been painted on the wall at the time it granted the woman's favor (or so it appears), and there is no

suggestion that the woman herself originally had the image painted. Thus the original painting of the image testifies to an earlier votive cult, while the woman's forty soldi and a lamp show the renewal of that cult, again for votive purposes.

In addition to the kinds of religious behavior usually associated with the cult of images — candles and, occasionally, processions —²¹³ one must also consider the many reports of deliberate irreverence, of ritualized abuse and desecration which images of saints who failed to perform their expected duties were forced to suffer. In thirteenth century Rodez, during times of tempest, images of the saints were beaten and abused.²¹⁴ At the same period in the village of Villeneuve St.-Georges, when the grapes were at risk, the villagers took the image of the titular of their community and subjected it to cold water baths in the river.²¹⁵ And, even in fifteenth century Florence, Richard Trexler assures us, the "spontaneous profanation of Christian images by private persons is well documented."²¹⁶ So a means of retaliation was opened to the faithful if the saint refused to carry out his part of the devotional compact. As distinguished from the sight of the kneeling donor, his hands clasped in homage to his liege lord, such disrespectful conduct, precipitated by a failed obligation of the lord's, would seem to be analogous to a peculiarly violent défi, a formal rupture of the vassalic bond.²¹⁷ It may be doubted, however, that the relationship remained permanently dissolved.

Not all images would patiently submit to maltreatment, especially when the punishment was undeserved. When an enraged Dom-

inican attacked an image of St. Francis with a knife and attempted to scratch out the stigmata shown on the hands, feet, and side, a legend informs us that the image dripped blood.²¹⁸ In fact, some images — paintings, statues, icons, and of course ~~cr~~^uifixes — have been highly revered because of their ability to bleed, weep, speak, move, nod, and exude oil.²¹⁹ Out of this last category of oil-exuding images, Robert de Clari provides us with a fine Byzantine example. In connection with his description of the relic treasures of the palace of Boukoleon in Constantinople (1204), he writes:

Or avoit encore en chele Sainte Capele un autre
saintuaire, car il i avoit une ymage de saint
Dimitre qui estoit painte en un tavle. Chis ymages
si rendoit tant d'oile que on n'en savoit tant
oster, comme il decoroit de chel ymage.²²⁰

According to the Comte^{de} Riant's invaluable inventory of Byzantine religious booty brought West following the sack of Constantinople in 1204, this panel of St. Demetrius was in 1208 conveyed by Henri d'Ulmen to Trier.²²¹ Golden and silver vessels containing oil secreted by this saint were packed off to Soissons and Rheims.²²² (Riant catalogues a number of icons and panels transported to the West from Byzantium; the majority appear to be panel-reliquaries of the True Cross.)²²³

Wonderworking images were potent channels of divine grace, and thus frequently objects of peculiar veneration. Traditions arose that these images had not been made by human hands,²²⁴ or that they had arrived at their destination by miraculously floating upon the waters.²²⁵ Among the most famous of these especially venerated images are images of Mary like the Impruneta of Florence,²²⁶

and the so-called Black Virgin of Le Puy.²²⁷ These Marian images and others of the Virgin and of Christ have received far greater attention than the images of the saints. Yet, the fact remains that all sorts of clues to exceptionally venerated saints' images, and hence to possible miracle traditions, await investigation. An X-ray examination of a thirteenth century Sienese panel painting of St. Dominic shows that it was repainted twice during that same century, and was given a more impressive halo in the second quarter of the next century. This St. Dominic "was clearly the object of quite special attention."²²⁸ It would be interesting to see if the wish to keep the saint's iconography up-to-date, which the art-historian who has studied the matter regards as the basic motive for the repainting,²²⁹ points towards a cult tradition of exceptional veneration. If so, keeping the image iconographically modern could be comprehended as a wish to make the saint — a 'modern' saint after all — continue to be the contemporary of those who had recourse to him.

An important feature of saints' images was that several, and at times a great many saints could be assembled in the same composition. Despite what at first glance might look like an arbitrary assortment of saints, a closer scrutiny usually confirms that the saints have been brought together according to a definite plan. Indeed, the principles governing the grouping of saints are crucial to any serious discussion of the cultic significance of images, for it is nearly always to matters of cult that these principles pertain. First of all, and requiring least comment, are those groupings where the saints represented mirror the ties uniting the donors.

An assembly of the various patrons of a city; of the baptismal patrons of the members of a family; of the massed saints of a great religious order — each image commissioned by the respective city, family, or order — nothing could be more straightforward.

So, if one were to come across a (hypothetical) painting of the Virgin Mary accompanied by Saints Philip Benizzi (d.1285; cult confirmed 1671), Sebastian, and the Blessed Gerard of Villamagna (d.1242? cult confirmed 1833), the union of the Florentine general of the Servites; the Roman martyr; and the Tuscan hermit should in no wise be perplexing. For the fifteenth century statues of some Florentine laudesi who met near the Servite church of the Annunziata and were called the Company of St. Sebastian (with the Bl. Gerard as co-patron) list these saints as "tutti nostri Avvocati."²³⁰

Saints, furthermore, could be grouped according to their liturgical category or type, e.g., the two martyred deacons Saints Stephen and Lawrence are frequently found together. An altarpiece executed c.1400 assembles around St. Catherine of Siena four other Dominican virgins: the Blesseds Joan of Florence (d.14th c.), Vanna of Orvieto (d.1306), Margaret of Città di Castello (d.1320), and Daniela of Orvieto (d.1390?).²³¹ Iconographically, as has been seen, the rendering of conventionalized types was relatively simple for artists to achieve. Of the small proportion of saints which George Kaftal was unable to identify in his two magnificent repertoires, all are perfectly recognizable as saint-types.²³² Even if the individualizing signs were meaningless, say to a medieval traveller, the category of saint being venerated in an image

would remain as a datum in the memory. Both liturgy and the cult of images impressed upon the learned and unlearned alike that saints were not homogeneous but rather came in certain classes. Although the subject of saint-type will demand more extended discussion later on, it is worth emphasizing here that these categories of saints were not mere abstractions. Iconography and grouping by type both demonstrate that these categories must have operated in the popular perception of saints and that, in short, liturgical typologies were inseparably bound up with the ideas of sanctity alive in the later medieval world.

Another principle behind the grouping of saints is that of common historical association. Saints who figured in the vitae of each other or who together performed apostolic labors or who were companions in martyrdom (or were reputed to be) — these saints were likely candidates for joint portraiture. Very frequently saints associated historically also enjoyed a common liturgical commemoration, that is, a common feast day. The Four Crowned Saints (SS.IV Coronati: 8 November) and Saints Simon and Jude (28 October) might be cited here.²³³ The splendid reliquary of St. Ursula at Bruges, painted by Hans Memline c.1489, shows a narrative cycle of the saint and the host of her fellow martyrs from their first arrival at Cologne to their reunion in paradise²³⁴ — a veritable communio sanctorum. The feast of Ursula et sociae, her famous 11,000 companions, was observed on the 21st October.²³⁵

Cults similarly originating in a tradition of group martyrdom, such as the Holy Innocents, might not boast a captain like

St. Ursula. Devotion to the Holy Innocents precedes the later Middle Ages but still continues to be influential within the period, possibly impinging upon both the Children's Crusade of 1212²³⁶ and the perception of New Innocents in the child martyrs of the later medieval period, whose deaths were imputed to Jewish malice. Still another more or less anonymous host of fellow martyrs begins to attract attention in the course of the fifteenth century -- the cult of the 10,000 Martyrs of Mount Ararat; as usual, veneration expresses itself in images.²³⁷ All in all, the evidence does suggest that these groups of collectively venerated saints -- jointly invoked and jointly represented in religious art -- proliferated in the waning medieval centuries.

Then, of course, there are those groups wholly lacking even in putative historical associations, groups which readers of Huizinga's brilliant book might be excused for taking to be quintessentially characteristic of the later Middle Ages.²³⁸ Collective cults of this sort do appear to take on a new prominence from the late thirteenth century to the early sixteenth. To be sure, the roots of a devotion may be traceable to a previous epoch, but the effects of the popularization of Christianity, altered social needs, and the efflorescence of religious art, helped to promote and to publicize new saint groupings which in their greater impact may be considered substantially new. Thus the cult of the Twenty-Four Old Men of the Apocalypse was perhaps in existence in the ninth century.²³⁹ Only in the thirteenth century, however, does the cult really begin to develop, reaching its apogee probably in Germanic lands in the first half of the fifteenth century. As

described in the condemnation of the University of Vienna (17 October 1419), people believed that God consulted with the Twenty-Four Old Men on the Thursday of Ember-Days, before each of the four seasons of the year. Together with his Twenty-Four advisors God then decided who would live or die or suffer any misery in the coming season. Naturally, therefore, people saw the Twenty-Four Old Men as occupying a unique status, quite above that of other saints, and so they hastened to honor them with votive masses, candles, and images.²⁴⁰

Better known groups of saints, equally bound together by means of a common cult, display the same popular qualities of potency and privilege. In combination with a jointly held speciality, these qualities could prove extremely attractive, as the iconographic groupings of plague saints show.²⁴¹ Suffrages in later medieval books of hours addressed to the cinq saints (or sainctes) privilégiés illustrate the same cast of mind.²⁴² The cult of the Four Holy Marshalls - Saints Anthony Abbot, Cornelius, Hubert, and Quirinus, - promised special help for men and cattle. This cult was ^{conspicuous} ~~conspicuous~~ in the ecclesiastical province of Cologne during the fifteenth century. It may have developed through the bringing together of individual saints who all enjoyed separate veneration in the surrounding region, for the pilgrimage proximity of each of their major shrines may have facilitated a merger leading to joint veneration and representation.²⁴³

Most famous of these joint cults grouped by devotion and not by historical association, the Fourteen Holy Helpers (Nothelfer)

are mentioned first in a letter of indulgence issued by Bishop Conrad of Passau for the Frauenkirche at Krems (1284). Nevertheless, an altar dedicated to the Fourteen Nothelfer at that church seems to pre-exist the indulgence. In Christian iconography the earliest known appearance of the Nothelfer is in a 1331 fresco at the Dominican church of Regensburg. The Fourteen Holy Helpers served a variety of needs; none of the reasons offered in explanation of their coming together into a joint cult is compelling. Substitutions in and additions to their company were made as the cult travelled outward from its original German homeland, but usually the Nothelfer were: Acacius, Barbara, Blaise, Catherine, Christopher, Cyriac, Dionysius, Erasmus, Eustace, George, Giles, Margaret, Pantaleon, and Vitus. Explanations for their union range from association in a shepherd's vision²⁴⁴ (which comes from a time of cult activity but unfortunately post-dates the earliest evidence of the formation of the group) to a children's prayer involving fourteen angels (perhaps significant, since images of the Nothelfer sometimes made reference to children and angels). Yet no one, apparently, has succeeded in explaining why these specific saints, some obscure and some famous, all but Giles among the martyrs, should have been united in a common cult. Nearly all the Nothelfer had been the beneficiaries of a privilegium, however, and this fact may be relevant.²⁴⁵

But the iconographic grouping of saints cannot wholly be clarified through a discussion of principles, for such a discussion inevitably oversimplifies larger images where more than one 'principle' may be in operation.²⁴⁶ Again, it seems sensible not to

state interpretations of concrete images as if they were the abstract propositions of geometry, but rather to show actual instances of saint groupings which illustrate directly how ideas of cult affect and are translated into images. Two relatively complex panels of the fifteenth century will therefore be analyzed for their ways of ordering and implicitly classifying the saints which they exhibit.

The upper register of a reredos from Romsey Abbey, Hampshire (a Benedictine nunnery²⁴⁷) groups ten figures — nine saints and a female suppliant who kneels at the feet of St. Francis and who is probably the donor. Schematically presented, the arrangement of saints is:

1	2	3	4	5	6
A Doctor of the Church. Dressed as a cardinal. St. Jerome?	St. Francis X Female Suppliant	St. Sebastian	Three Benedictine Saints. 4: an Abbot: St. Benedict? 5: an Abbess: St. Scholastica? 6: a monk: St. Maurus? or St. Placidus?		
7	8		9		
St. Roch	St. John the Baptist		A Doctor of the Church: St. Augustine? St. Ambrose?		

In the composition the Benedictine saints are central, as one might expect from the nature of the religious house; moreover, the abbess (Romsey being a nunnery) is in the center of the Benedictines. Now, the Benedictines could just as well be English order saints; for if we were to encounter any local saints in this program — and there do not seem to be any — we might expect them among the Benedictines. What ^{is} ~~be~~ thought-provoking in this arrangement of saints is the care for grouping ^{and balancing} by type, which of

course would be more evident if the saints from one doctor to the other could be displayed in a single line. Anyway, the pairs are 1 and 9 (doctors); 3 and 7 (plague saints). The three Benedictines are grouped by order. The balancing of 2 (St. Francis) with 8 (St. John the Baptist) depends upon the Christocentric allusions of each: John announces and pre-figures the Passion, while Francis, the alter Christus, has imitated it in his own person.²⁴⁸ Note, too, how the 'new' saints, Francis and Roch, are made equals and contemporaries of 'old' saints who are martyrs or fathers.

The convent and church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Tivoli was in 1461 taken from the Franciscan Conventuals and put into the hands of the Observantine branch of the order. In the church is an altarpiece dating from the end of the fifteenth century, a product of the studio of Luca Signorelli. The altarpiece is as follows:

<u>Lunette: Coronation of the Virgin.</u>				
	A.	B.	C.	
<u>Three Central Compartments:</u>	St. Lawrence standing. St. Francis kneeling in the foreground.	Madonna and Child plus an infant St. John the Baptist.	St. Joseph standing. St. Bernardino kneeling in the foreground.	
<u>Seven Scenes of Predella:</u>	1 Missing (St. Luke?)	2 St. Clara and St. Elisabeth of Hungary	3 St. Anthony of Padua	4 St. Symphorosa and four of her children; St. Getulius and the other three children. (Central Scene of the Predella.)
	5 St. Bonaventura	6 St. Victoria and St. Anatolia	7 St. Mark	

The local saints of Tivoli are the martyrs SS. Getulius, his wife Symphorosa and their seven children; the martyred sisters Victoria and Anatolia. St. Lawrence is titular of the cathedral²⁴⁹ and thus as much a local saint as a universal one. The presence of St. Joseph may be due to unexplained local reasons, or as an analogue to the husband and wife grouping below, or because the Franciscans of the Observance promoted his cult. The two (?) Evangelists 1 (?) and 7 would be a pair by type. The two female Franciscan saints (2) balance the female local martyrs (6), although not entirely since St. Elisabeth of Hungary was a widow and the other three females were virgins. Both the Franciscans St. Anthony of Padua (3) and St. Bonaventura (5: the 'newest' saint present; d. 1274; can. 1482) were doctors of the order, and so paired. In the central compartments, again, St. Francis the patron of the order which he founded is logically balanced with St. Bernardino who as the chief pillar of the Observance was regarded by the Observantines almost as a second founder (A, C). On the whole, local saints and order saints are grouped in such a way as to proclaim that the 'universal' Franciscan Order is completely at home in the local community. The pairs St. Lawrence-St. Francis (A) and St. Joseph-St. Bernardino (C) prove that these two great order saints are absolutely at their ease with the greatest saints of the Church. At the same time, St. Lawrence is definitely and St. Joseph may be a localized universal saint. Lastly, 'new' and 'old' saints are made iconographic contemporaries. Grouping them in this manner assimilates the relatively recent order saints to the most venerable universal saints.

The importance of images in conveying certain fairly complex notions about classes and kinds of saints can be verified whenever a sophisticated, multiple grouping is closely examined. The distinction between new and old saints tends to be blurred; likewise, universal and local saints come together in order to allow both to participate in each other's respective prestige and bonds with the immediate community.

For centuries images had been one of the traditional manifestations of the cult of saints. New saints meant new images. Salimbene may pour ridicule upon the popular cult of a Bl. Albert of Bergamo (d.1279) and mutter that "nor may any man be portrayed anywhere as a saint unless his canonization is first published by the Church."²⁵⁰ Still the Franciscan chronicler is forced to report that ^cone the parish priests realized the extent of popular enthusiasm for the new saint:

Quod videntes sacerdotes parrochiales procurabant, ut iste Albertus in eorum ecclesiis pingeretur, ut melius oblationes a populo obtinerent. Et non solum in ecclesiis tempore illo fiebat eius ymago, sed etiam in multis muris et porticibus civitatum atque villarum seu castrorum.²⁵¹

Discounting Salimbene's tendency to exaggerate, one may yet conclude that this seems a fair amount of images for so comparatively obscure a personage. Moreover, not only the new saints of the later Middle Ages but also the old local patrons and the great universal saints of Christendom demanded portraits for churches old and new, municipal buildings, chapels, private dwellings, and so on. The sheer numerical increase of saints' images in the later Middle Ages does not seem open to doubt. Three factors bearing

upon this proliferation of images should now be mentioned.

The first or social factor can be stated briefly. Most images were commissioned for religious and quasi-religious institutions. Hence the more churches and convents; the more guilds, pious confraternities, and companies of laud-singers (not to mention towns, ruling dynasties, and self-conscious families), the more images of saints would be needed as these groups symbolised their ties of union through a corporate patron. The increase in images, then, is partially a measure of and indeed a tribute to the corporate spirit of the later Middle Ages. In areas of Europe where the impetus to new social groupings might have been relatively weak, where comparatively few churches or convents were founded, where guild and town life did not develop dynamically, there it would be quite surprising to find a dramatic upsurge in the number of saints' images.²⁵² Also, it may not be fortuitous that the thirteenth century is a watershed, both in the popularization of Christianity, with which the increased production of images is connected, and in the rise of precisely those bodies — guilds, disciplinati, etc. — who insist upon images. Varying levels of urbanization throughout Europe must therefore be kept in mind, although rural guilds and confraternities should not be forgotten.

The second factor pertains to spirituality rather than to society. It is precisely during the later medieval period that historians of spirituality have noted a new orientation of Christian piety towards seeing — "... le chrétien de ce temps veuille 'voir', car la vue sauve."²⁵³ An increasingly visual Christian

spirituality was a decidedly favorable context for the veneration of sacred images and especially for a manifestation of devotion to saints through the cult of their images. Evidence for the tendency towards seeing holy objects and holy places can be taken from several directions. During this period, reliquaries give way to monstrances, thus ^tsatisfying a need to view their contents.²⁵⁴ Relics themselves are publically displayed at solemn ostensions; pilgrimages might be undertaken to see them and to inspect the sacred shrines of Christendom.²⁵⁵ Itself a relic of Christ, the Eucharist was elevated at its consecration in response to a popular desire to behold it.²⁵⁶ Where walls and thick screens blocked the sight of it, then peep-holes and squints were cut to make the elevation visible.²⁵⁷ That the Eucharistic cult had a profoundly visual nature, may also be evidenced by the rise of Eucharistic miracles, since a good number of these miraculously transformed hosts were believed to display the likeness of Christ or exude his blood.²⁵⁸ Doctrinally of course these miraclehosts confirmed the truth of transubstantiation: the real presence was made visible. An interesting example of the power of visual images, and at the same time an indication of how the cult of saints could be affected by the cult of Christ, is the relic of the Holy Face, the true likeness (vera icon) of Jesus reproduced upon the piece of linen with which Jesus was believed to have mopped his brow on the way to Calvary. This relic was very celebrated and images of it appear frequently in later medieval art. Also, these images of the Holy Face often show the saintly lady who was supposed to have handed the linen cloth to Jesus. Now, just as the name of St. Longinus was given to the Roman soldier whose lance (longchē in Greek) pierced the side of Christ, so from vera icon it is likely Christians

determined that the compassionate lady was called St. Veronica.²⁵⁹
 Undoubtedly the cult of this image of Christ gave rise to the cult
 of the saint who shared its name.^{259a}

The third factor relating to the growth and impact of images is linguistic. The history of Christian iconography is the history of a language, a language which in common with the other European vernaculars had to work out its own vocabulary and syntax in order to acquire expressive fluency. Unlike Botticelli's Neoplatonic enigmas, the iconography of saints was not originally meant to be learned hieroglyphics; rather, it was supposed to be a vehicle of communication with ordinary believers. Admittedly, over-refined symbolism and erudite allusions sometimes defeated this purpose. Then, their understanding more or less obscured, the laity would be faced with the visual equivalent of ecclesiastical latin. Despite the technical progress of realism, which might increase the force of iconographic speech, the main question was comprehension, and to a great extent this depended upon the standardization of common attributes for types and for individual saints. On the whole, the former sort of attributes seem to have become conventional before the bulk of the saints were recognizable individuals.²⁶⁰ In Tuscany, for example, each type of saint was iconographically set by the fourteenth century.²⁶¹ Throughout Western Europe the attributes of type plus individual emblems for a good number of the older, universal saints became fixed in the course of the thirteenth century, a process to which the circulation of hagiographic collections like the Legenda aurea greatly contributed.²⁶² During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries individual

attributes grew as corporation^s added their own insignia to their patrons and as heraldry became influential.²⁶³

As a consequence of its new prominence and popularity, the cult of images attracted critics and reformers. The later Middle Ages marks the birth of a new iconoclasm. Heretics, unsurprisingly, were often iconoclasts. When the poet Hoccleve says "Yit summe men holde opynyon and saye/ That noon ymages shuld made be" he means the Lollards, though perhaps not all of them.²⁶⁴ Lollard opposition to images was based upon what they considered the excessive popular reverence paid to external "ymagis made of man in erthe" to the neglect of interior images dwelling "in gode mennes soulis."²⁶⁵ The Lollards also alleged that the richer, the more ornate the image, the more offerings of the people it would attract, while a "pore ymage stondyng in a symple kirk or chapel" would be totally ignored.²⁶⁶ Most seriously, and this point was echoed time and time again by orthodox reformers, people too often confused the physical representation with the holy person represented, so that they would make vows to the images and believe that the images themselves were the saints who could cure them or grant their deepest desires. This was idolatry.²⁶⁷ One of the Czech precursors of Huss, Mathias of Janow was in 1389 forced to recant his opinion that images encouraged idolatry,²⁶⁸ and later Huss-inspired radicals like the Taborites were contemptuous of images, among much else.²⁶⁹

Nonheretics also found much to deplore in the cult. Archbishop Fitzralph of Armagh preached against "the oblations which

are offered to such images on account of the false and fabricated miracles wrought by their ministers."²⁷⁰ The poet Eustache Deschamps, an anonymous fifteenth century pamphleteer writing against "those who adore images and statues," the reforming Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, the pious Brethren of the Common Life, the scholar Pico della Mirandola — all found reason for censure.²⁷¹ In 1451, Nicholas of Cusa denounced the abusus ymaginum which was the special veneration paid to some reputedly wonderworking images. He insisted that "omnes tales imagines et picturas ab oculis simplicis vulgi amoveri..."²⁷²

An extremely precious document on the sort of controversies which the veneration of images could generate in the minds of sincere laymen is the letter written in the very late fourteenth century by the perceptive Florentine raconteur Franco Sacchetti to Giacomo di Conte da Perugia. Sacchetti begins by discussing the circulation of images of Bl. Urban V (d. 1370) and goes on to make several important observations bearing upon the iconography and cult of recent santi and beati:

... quelli che come santo o beato l'hanno dipinto i.e. the late Pope Urban V ... questa dipintura è trascorsa e specialmente nel Ducato e ne la Marca, perché sono molto creduli, io per me sono colui che tegno questa essere idollatria però che'l corpo, che dopo una vita santamente usata non ha molto evidentemente fatto miracoli, ed ancora, avendoli fatti, essere canonicizzato, al mio parere, e mancamento di fede a mescolare tra'l numero de' santi tal dipintura...²⁷³

The distinction which Sacchetti makes between 'saint' and 'blessed' he will later amplify. In a rather tangled passage, he castigates the extension of what amounts to an unwarranted cult in the form

of an image and objects to paintings of Pope Urban V in effect placing their subject among the number of the saints. Indeed, Sacchetti continues, there are many who offer vows and bring candles to the image and might even choose Pope Urban as their advocate rather than the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, or "gli altri Santi maggiori."²⁷⁴

But the cult has further, even more worrying consequences:

Il primo papa Urbano V, che io vidi mai dipinto, fu in una tavola nel nostro San Giovanni di Firenze, la qual anco al presente si vede, il quale avea dinanzi acceso un torchio di due libbre; e'l Crocifisso, che non gli era molto di lungi, avea una vil candeluzza d'un danaio. ... E chi venisse di nuovo al mondo, senza avere cognizione de le cose divine, e fosseli detto: L'uno di questi due è lo re di vita eterna, considerando a la dipintura e al lume, certo si dee credere che direbbe di papa Urbano.²⁷⁵

Thus the splendor of Pope Urban's image with its blazing lights overshadows and usurps the glory of the dimly lit sign of the Christus-Rex. When the citizen who had put up the image of Pope Urban suddenly comes to a miserable end, Sacchetti attributes this to the neglected Crucifix. The moral is: "Si che si può dire, per non avere raccomandatosi al maggiore avvocato, perdesse l'avere e la persona."²⁷⁶

Sacchetti hastens to add that he neither affirms nor denies that Pope Urban V was a saint; yet he does disapprove ^{that} of:

gli uomini e le femine corrano a dipignere quello che la Santa Chiesa non fa piu vico /I.e. pubblico/ e certo, be che' religiosi, che'l consentono per avarizia di far trarre gente a loro, ne son cagione.²⁷⁷

To commission votive images for 'saints' whom ecclesiastical procedures have not authenticated is a practice which earns his disapproval and for which he blames the greed of the mendicants. Salimbene, who was writing about a hundred years earlier than Sacchetti, had voiced pretty much the same objection, although, as a mendicant friar himself, he had ascribed these unauthorised images to the greed of the secular clergy.

Now Sacchetti expresses his fears that abuses in the veneration of images threaten the cult of saints as a whole. His remarks deserve to be cited at some length.

Ma usciamo di papa Urbano, e vegnamo a una parola che mi diceste, cioè che Ghino marchese da Citedella disse che questi Santi novellini gli faceano perdere la fede de' vecchi. /my italics/ E non è egli il vero quello che disse questo gentiluomo? ²⁷⁸

That Sacchetti distinguishes new-comers among the saints from the venerable saints of the past justifies the use of such categories on historical as well as on practical grounds. But Sacchetti's marquess is not a calm judge of the situation. For him and for Sacchetti too, there is a tension between these two groups — the new and the old saints, the saintlets of the present and their illustrious predecessors. What concerns Sacchetti and Ghino is not simply the mass influx of petty, new arrivals, but rather the means through which these "newfangled" saints have achieved recognition and veneration:

E chi n'assicura che non siano assai che dubitino che gli altri Santi non principiassono in questa forma e che li raggi da capo, e'l 'beato' a' piedi, in ispazio di tempo gli raggi siano conversi in diodema, e'l 'beato' in 'santo'? ... Gli Frati Minori ne la città di Firenze hanno il corpo di San Jacuna in this edition of the text; Bartolommeo

Pucci? (d.1330) e quel di San Gherardo da Villamagna, e quello di Santa Miliana de' Cerchi, che dal 'beato' son venuti al 'santo', e a tutti è appiccata dimolta cera.... E' Predicatori hanno Beata Giovanna con l'orcio de l'olio dipinta, dicendo che, quando dava de l'olio per Dio, sempre pareva che crescesse ne l'orcio (forse di luglio quando per lo caldo riboliva); hanno Beata Villana, che fu mia vicina, e fu giovane fiorentina; pur andava vestita come l'altre, e fannone già festa, e San Domenico si sta da parte. Li Romitani hanno San Barduccio, e de gli altri; e' Carmelliti e le altre religioni ne sono di simili tutte piene, e la gente corre tutta a le cose nuove, e Santo Agostino e San Benedetto non (è) viciato come quelli, 'quia omnia nova placent'. ... E non molto di lungi ho veduto in una riga di cinque dipinti essere tre Santi e due Beati.²⁷⁹

To Sacchetti the cult of images serves to promote beati to the rank of full-fledged saints because the known iconographic signs of cult status — the rays of a blessed, the halo of a saint — are flouted. This dubious manner of canonization by images naturally makes those who perceive it wonder whether or not the ancient saints of Christianity similarly came to be honored. A number of instances of former beati now venerated as saints can be brought forward; although they lack official papal canonization, their images grant them full equality of status with the greatest saints of the Church. Candles burn before these images. All the new mendicant orders have such cults. The Dominicans have Beata Giovanna whose supposed miracle is now her iconographic signature; and they also have Beata Villana de' Botti (d.1360), a young widow claimed by the tertiaries,²⁸⁰ who had been a neighbor of Sacchetti's, whose dress had been indistinguishable from other young Florentine ladies, and who is now already receiving religious honors. St. Dominic, however, must stand aside. And in truth all the great old saints are being cast into the shade by the populace in its desire

for novelty. In a row of five images which Sacchetti saw, there were almost as many beati as there were saints.

The saints to whom Sacchetti refers — Urban V, Gerard of Villamagna, Humiliana dei Cerchi (d.1246, Franciscan tertiary), Joan of Florence, Villana de' Botti, Barduccio Barducci (d.c.1331) — everyone of them would be today counted among the blessed.²⁸¹ The inquiry made into the life and miracles of Pope Urban V in 1390 ended inconclusively and only in 1870 was his cult officially confirmed.²⁸² The iconographic record, however, speaks for itself and amply vindicates the truth of Sacchetti's accusations about promotion through pictures. The surviving images of Pope Urban V, Gerard, and Humiliana do in fact show them with saints' haloes and not with blessed's rays.²⁸³ Apparently, Sacchetti's letter is one of the earliest, if not the earliest of texts showing an appreciation for variation in the nimbus according to the official status of the saint.²⁸⁴ Durandus had made no such distinction.²⁸⁵ Yet it is obvious to Sacchetti that there are rules in these matters — Salimbene also had implied the need for ecclesiastical approval before painting an "ymago ad modum sancti", but he says nothing about the nimbus.²⁸⁶ Sacchetti feels that when to paint "li raggi da capo" and when to paint the "diodema" ought to have been known, and for that reason the breach of these conventions is doubly distasteful to him.

Sanctus and beatus had long been interchangeable terms and for most writers they still were. Mutually restrictive definitions had to await papal definitions of cult. Beatification had

first to be disentangled from canonization, and the limited cult of the beatus differentiated from that of the fully canonized saint, before each term could achieve a precise meaning. Now Alexander III's permission for the local veneration of the hermit William of Malavalle (d.1157), which was granted sometime during the later 1170's, is usually taken to be the locus classicus for the origins of papal beatification.²⁸⁷ It is hard to believe, however, that this ruling was widely appreciated as marking a new departure until a considerable time had passed; if one considers the iconography of the saints, the impact of papal legislation was certainly long delayed.

Indeed, the first time Kaftal finds the labels beatus, beata, or the initial b. preceding the names of saints on images is on a Florentine panel painting, executed after 1336.²⁸⁸ Ten Dominican sancti are shown and seven beati, but the classification scheme has nothing to do with papal pronouncements. Of the ten Dominicans labelled saints on this panel from Santa Maria Novella, only three had been canonized at the time when the painting was made. It is quite unlikely that the seven beati had received formal papal authorization for their titles. Since no canonical subtleties entered into the distinction, it appears to be fama rather than law which determines the titles which the Dominicans bestow upon their deceased brethren. Yet those saints whom the Dominicans iconographically canonized are visually indistinguishable from their papally approved colleagues. Putting aside the question of papal beatification: the papal reservation of the right to canonize had been in the canon law books since 1234.²⁸⁹ The painting

which Kaftal cites was made after 1336. The Dominicans prided themselves on being the watchdogs of orthodoxy; they certainly could not have pleaded ignorance of canon law. Well might Sacchetti lament: "e 'l Sommo Pontefice non ci attende...."²⁹⁰

In this post-1336 Santa Maria Novella panel all the Dominicans represented, whatever they are titled, wear an identical halo. But by the closing years of the fourteenth century, about the time Sacchetti was writing his troubled letter, the beatus had come to wear his peculiar nimbus of rays (capita radiolis, non diademate), distinguishing him from the saint,²⁹¹ even if, as Sacchetti testifies, the use of either the rays of a blessed or the unbroken aureole of a saint might be equally unauthorized and just as arbitrary. Here too fama played a part. Of course the enthusiasm of the cult's promoters could be more influential still. Yet there was a limit to what the most enthusiastic promoters of a cult might dare to do. The very rivalry of the mendicant orders helped to create a system of checks and balances. As the controversy over the images of St. Catherine of Siena stigmatized shows, one order could always complain to the papacy when it felt that its rival had gone too far. The sentiments of conscientious and reform-minded laymen like Sacchetti might be outraged. Besides, the fifteenth century seems to bring with it greater sensitivity towards the iconographic ^{proprieties} ~~properties~~, and hence possibly fewer instances of blatant transgression.

That by the fifteenth century the language of iconography had created its own expositors and exegetes may be seen in a humorous

tale in which the Piovano Arlotto is called upon to lend his critical understanding to an iconographic problem. He is asked to mediate in a dispute involving a painter ("maestro alla antica") and a dissatisfied patron. At the center of the dispute is an image of St. Julian the Hospitaller, to whom the patron, one Goro Infan-gati, was devoted. (Was the patron either a frequent traveller or an inn-keeper? St. Julian protected both, if not from one another.) The story of St. Julian concerns a man who fled after it was prophesied that he would kill his mother and father and who inadvertently comes to do just that. Piovano Arlotto decides that the painter has incorrectly rendered St. Julian holding a naked sword in his hand, without also showing a scabbard nearby. Since this pose seems to represent Julian just after he has slain his parents, still unrepentant and hungry for more blood, no halo ought to have appeared ("sanza diadema"), because at that moment Julian was far from being a saint. But also at that same instant, the Piovano says, Julian repented so strongly of his crime that God had forgiven him. Immediately, he was a saint. So the painter should not have shown Julian with a sword; or, should have had him put the sword in its scabbard.²⁹²

In this anecdote, the image, the legend, and the sign of sanctity (the nimbus), must be harmonized exactly, and a complex narrative cycle distilled into one clear and theologically accurate scene. However humorously pedantic the strictures of the Piovano might seem, an assistant of Bernardo Daddi, probably before 1348, managed a perfectly correct solution to the problem of depicting St. Julian at the very moment of his repentance, forgiveness, and

sanctification: the sword is being sheathed, about two-thirds of it resting already in its scabbard; the saint regards the spectator remorsefully; but above his head there glistens the gold nimbus of his sanctity.²⁹³

The nimbus itself was an old symbol long before the beginnings of Christianity. An emanation of divine light, it symbolized a transaction between a god and one of his specially privileged creatures. Gradually in the Greco-Roman world, the nimbus was used to mark off from the rest of humanity those favored and powerful beings who were judged to be exalted above it. Christianity took over the sign fairly early, using it indiscriminately for Jesus, the Virgin, and angels, but also for Herod, Judas, Cain, and Satan. Power and importance were still evidently divorced from glory and virtue. But by the middle of the sixth century it becomes characteristic of martyrs and saints in glory.²⁹⁴ In the same period (c.547), at the church of San Vitale in Ravenna, it is interesting to note that the Christian Emperor Justinian (d.565) wears a nimbus.²⁹⁵ Durandus (c.1286), when he discusses the medieval Christian meaning of the nimbus, remains faithful to age-old themes of privilege and potency:

So also all Saints are portrayed as crowned, as if they said: Ye children of Jerusalem, behold the Martyrs with the golden crowns wherewith the Lord hath crowned them. And in the book of Wisdom: 'The just shall receive a kingdom of glory, and a beautiful diadem from the hand of their God.' But their crown is made in the fashion of a round shield: because the saints enjoy the divine protection. Whence they sing with joy: 'Lord, Thou hast crowned us with the shield of Thy favour.'²⁹⁶

In the later Middle Ages and during the Renaissance, the nimbus retains much of this symbolic meaning, spotlighting the saint's fama and his contact with divine power.

While the saints were still hieratic and frontal, the nimbus was most often a heavy gold plate with its center at the back of the head. But as the saints became more intimate figures, as they began to be more familiarly and realistically treated, the nimbus too evolved, becoming lighter, and more attenuated.²⁹⁷ The fourteenth century would seem to be the crucial period of transition, but the development is certainly not an orderly one, and the thirteenth century contributes the pathetic as a mode for breaking down impersonality.²⁹⁸ Hieratic prototypes of the human ensemble of saints called the sacra conversazione are already in evidence well before the genre starts to flourish in the early decades of the Quattrocento, while the term itself is first employed in the Tuscan school of the mid-fifteenth century.²⁹⁹

For northern Europe, the fifteenth century brought a new realism to the images of the saints. If the costumes of the apostles continued to be inviolate, the majority of saints were now permitted to discard the traditional tunics and plain drapery which they had been obliged to wear in the thirteenth century. The saints were at least free to assume the typical fashion of later medieval people. Dressed like ordinary carpenters and notaries, widows, knights, and nuns, most of the saints lost that distance which remoteness in time often imposes.³⁰⁰ Perhaps by becoming more like the approachable figures of daily life these

'modern dress' saints also lost some of the extraordinary qualities which had given them dignity and power. Italian artists, on the other hand, advanced towards a realism of their own which was probably more tinctured with idealism and less mundane than the realism of their northern counterparts. Certainly, Renaissance classicism contributed its peculiar vision of how antique saints should be represented; military saints outfitted as Roman legionaries, and so on.³⁰¹ Correspondingly, the nimbus wanes and sometimes vanishes altogether, leaving perhaps a faint afterglow.

Although too little is actually known about the images of the period to make sweeping judgements about the strengths and weaknesses of the cult as a whole, the movement towards greater realism in iconography has been unhesitatingly deplored by certain scholars, who interpret it as a loss of religious significance and even a degradation in devotion to the saints.³⁰² Undoubtedly the new intimacy and familiarity towards the saints might be mirrored in art, but it seems unconvincing to attribute a change in spirituality to a change in artistic style. It would be an act of imprudence to trace the rise of secularism in the disappearance of the nimbus. On the contrary, it could very well be argued that strong evidence for the vitality of the cult of images throughout this period was its ability to maintain an inherited iconographic tradition for so long, essentially unchanged, despite the enormous changes in pictorial technique. Hieratic saints were no longer wanted; proximity, contact won out. Yet the cult of images appears to grow ever stronger in the declining Middle Ages. Critics, reformers, and iconoclasts raised their voices; but the images of

the saints — if the existing repertoires are a fair selection — were produced rapidly and in new ways to meet ever rising demand. Growth and the ability to adapt to meet changing conditions are usually taken to be signs of health.

Unfortunately that which would make possible an accurate assessment of the cult of images is at present lacking. In the absence of a published European corpus of surviving images of saints, with each item catalogued by date and provenance, with all saints identified wherever data permits and cited in an index sanctorum, in the absence of such a work, scholars tend to fall back upon that most unreliable of guides, general impressions. When its catalogues are more generally available and its information more complete, the Index of Christian Art at Princeton University, encompassing "the whole of medieval Christian art, to the year 1400," will be of unsurpassed utility to scholars in search of quantifiable data.^{302a} Properly exploited, it would tell us which saints were most often represented in particular places and times before the fifteenth century, and would also allow us to decide the relative popularity of given saints within a comparatively well defined genre and its public, e.g. mural painting or illuminated books of hours. For the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries at least, it would illuminate the image explosion of the later Middle Ages.

The tables which follow do nothing more than indicate possibilities; they offer some limited data in quantitative form. Each table is a sample of images which have survived. Generically, these images included here are of two sorts: panel paintings of the Romanesque period in Italy (Table A); and incunabula woodcuts

and metalcuts (Tables B, C).

Table A: Garrison's Index is an admirable corpus of a defined artistic form. The Romanesque period which it covers may be stylistically coherent; but it is chronologically ragged, since it spans "painting in Italy from the late eleventh century to the point in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth at which the classic-naturalistic revival... took form."³⁰³ "Tuscan paintings outnumber those of all other regions together..."³⁰⁴ It may seem ungenerous to point out that the number of unidentified saints in Garrison is alarmingly high and that the state and size of the reproductions rendered the tabulator's efforts futile. What Garrison shows quite well is the initial impact of the new saints of the later Middle Ages, and especially of the images of St. Francis. Although the images of new saints naturally date from thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, it should not be forgotten that many images of older saints were also produced then. Garrison's panels, tabulated by their dates of execution, would probably show a dramatic increase in productivity during the thirteenth century—an image explosion. Yet one must emphasize the accidents of survival: the later the image, the less time at risk.

Table B: Kristeller's collection of Early Florentine Woodcuts^{304a} is possibly less complete than Garrison's Index, but has the double advantage of greater delimitation in geography and in time span covered. Although a great many of Kristeller's woodcuts of saints come from legends, sermons, or prayers, by far the largest single class of the woodcuts tabulated illustrate sacred drama, the saint

in question being either a central or a subordinate character. These woodcuts, therefore, tend to confirm the judgement of a Kristeller of our own day regarding the sacra rappresantazione "which attained its highest development in fifteenth century Florence and whose entire history is linked with the religious guilds which performed the plays and for which they were written."³⁰⁵

Table C: The woodcuts and metalcuts of saints included in Heitz's Einblattdrucke^{305a} provide an impressive number of instances, but since the field surveyed in the series from which the tabulations were made is so much wider than is true for either Table A or B, the relative completeness of the evidence is proportionately smaller. Libraries from Poland, Russia, America, Italy, and Britain were searched for suitable incunabula woodcuts and metalcuts; still, as would be assumed, the overwhelming majority of reproductions come from German libraries, and are indeed products of German-speaking areas. Of course the production of these cuts mirrors the German activity in early printing. Hence, the bulk of the reproductions tabulated were produced for northern European tastes. Within this primarily northern European context (e.g. no more than six volumes of the one hundred are devoted to Italian collections) one imagines that the editors provide a representative sample of the total materials available, and that the relative number of times a given saint appears is a fairly accurate measure of his appearances in incunabula cuts of the period. Of course, this presupposition of editorial good sense may be invalid. Beissel has noted the artistic representation of saints in German paintings before 1550 in the Cologne and Nu^{ve}rnberg Museum; he ob-

serves that the number of later medieval saints and of German saints in these paintings is much less than that of the old Roman saints and martyrs.³⁰⁶ This observation certainly corresponds with the results of Table C. Of the twenty-five saints ranked highest in Table C, only Saints Francis and Roch are later medieval, and though the Three Holy Kings and St. Ursula were strongly venerated in Germany, only the last, perhaps, may count as German. A large percentage of new saints in Table C may in fact be from non-Germanic cuts; if these saints had been rigorously excluded, the archaic and universal qualities of the roster would have been even more pronounced.

A comparative statistical discussion of the three tables is ruled out by the diverse natures, functions, and audiences of the images concerned. It would be misleading to compare statistically a thirteenth century Tuscan panel painting with a late fifteenth century German woodcut. Nevertheless, a few general remarks may be made. The new saints of the later Middle Ages have their most powerful impact in the Italian Romanesque panels of Table A (note especially the percentage of total images falling to new saints; cf, Tables B,C). On the other hand, Tables B and C reveal the predominance of the older, often Roman, universal saints. Representations of new saints of the later Middle Ages are usually less desired, if these incunabula cuts are typical of images in general. Some local saints are present in all three tables. Universal saints enjoying a special local cult (i.e. localized universals) must also be included in this category. Thus for Table B, Saints John the Baptist, John Gualbert, and Zenobius must all be thought

TABLE A

Images : Italian Romanesque Painted Panels(late eleventh to early fourteenth centuries)

Tabulations from E.B. Garrison, Italian Romanesque Panel Painting, an Illustrated Index (Florence, 1949).

Total Number of Panels : 700 ¹

Panels Relating to Christ : 242 ²

Panels Relating to Mary : 384

Unidentified Saints : 101

Number of Identified Saints : 62

Individual Saints in Order of Times Represented : ³

S. Francis	- 49	S. Margaret of Cortona	- 1
S. Peter	- 18	S. Thomas Aquinas	- 1
S. Catherine	- 17	B. Andrea Gallerani	- 1
S. John the Baptist	- 14	S. Louis of Toulouse	- 1
S. Clara	- 13	S. Nicholas Pellegrino	- 1
S. John the Evangelist	- 10	S. Eugenius	- 1
S. Nicholas	- 9	S. Crescentius	- 1
S. Mary Magdelene	- 7	S. Leonard	- 1
S. Dominic	- 6	S. Sylvester	- 1
S. Paul	- 6	S. Agnes	- 1
S. Andrew	- 6	S. Dionysus	- 1
S. James the Greater	- 6	S. Donatus	- 1
S. Lucy	- 4	S. Augustine	- 1
S. Bartholomew	- 4	S. Ann	- 1
S. Michael	- 3	S. Placidus	- 1
S. Juliana	- 3	S. Luke	- 1
S. Philip	- 2	S. Martin	- 1
S. Matthew	- 2	S. Hermagoras	- 1
S. Anthony of Padua	- 2	S. Fortunatus	- 1
S. Benedict	- 2	S. Veranus	- 1
S. Margaret	- 2	S. Theresa	- 1
S. Lawrence	- 2	S. Isiah	- 1
S. Zenobius	- 2	S. Benefactus	- 1
S. Agatha	- 2	S. Erasmus	- 1
S. Thaddeus	- 2	S. Stephen	- 1
S. Simon	- 2	S. Barbara	- 1
S. Anthony	- 1	S. Pelagia	- 1
S. Blaise	- 1	S. Cataldo	- 1
S. Cyprian	- 1	S. Christopher	- 1
S. Joseph	- 1	S. Matthias	- 1
S. James the Less	- 1	S. Thomas	- 1

Total Images:	231	
'New' Saints:	74	(9.25 per Saint)
'Old' Saints:	157	(2.53 per Saint)

Varieties of Saints ⁴

'New' Saints:	8	(12.9)
'Old' Saints:	54	(37.1)
Saints appearing in <u>Legenda aurea</u> : ⁵	39	(62.90)
Male Saints:	49	(79.63)
Female Saints:	13	(20.96)
Apostles/Evangelists:	14	(22.53)
Bishops:	13	(29.03)
Martyrs (both sexes):	25	(40.32)
Virgins:	11	(17.74)
Monks/Friars:	8	(12.90)
Doctors:	2	(3.22)
Laymen:	2	(3.22)
Penitents:	3	(4.83)
Angels:	1	(1.61)
Pilgrims:	1	(1.61)
OT/NP (Israh, S.Joseph, Ann):	3	(4.83)

-
1. 705 items of which 2 were omitted: some verso panels as well: figures must be regarded as approximations.
 2. Subsidiary figures on crucifixes (Mary and John the Evangelist) most often not counted.
 3. Saints counted by appearance; on images with multiple Saints, each Saint counted separately.
 4. Dual types (e.g. episcopal martyr) have been cross-counted.
 5. Critical edition (c.f. Graesse).

TABLE B

Images : Florentine Woodcuts

Tabulations from P. Kristeller, Early Florentine Woodcuts (London, 1897). Period of Time Covered : Later 15th Century to early 16th. Nonnotes taken here of cuts devoted to Christ or the Virgin. Tabulations exclude books by and about saints when no cuts are specifically cited. Cuts later than c.1520 are excluded from tabulations. Cuts repeated in another book, i.e. doing double service, are each time counted in favour of the saint they are supposedly representing.

Individual Saints Ranked in Order of Times Represented : 1

S. Mary Magdalene	8	S. Ursula	2
S. Margaret	7	S. John the Evangelist	2
S. Francis	7	S. Agnes	1
S. Augustine	7	S. Antonino	1
S. Paulinus	5	S. Basil	1
S. Agatha	5	S. Bernard	1
S. Apollonia	5	S. Bernardino	1
S. Jerome	4	S. Cecilia	1
S. John the Baptist	4	S. Plaise	1
S. John Gualbert	4	S. Helen	1
S. George	4	S. Euphrosyne	1
S. Barbara	4	S. Euphrasia	1
S. Catherine of Alexandria	4	S. Felicity	1
S. Anthony Abbot	3	S. Julian	1
S. Lucy	3	S. Chrysanthus	1
S. Paul	3	S. Job	1
S. Lazarus	3	S. Martin	1
S. Venantius	3	S. Michael	1
S. Romulus	2	S. Onuphrius	1
S. Christina	2	B. Jacopone da Todi	1
S. Domitilla	2	S. Paphnutius	1
S. Eustace	2	S. Raphael Archangel	1
S. John Chrysostom	2	S. Roch	1
S. Gregory the Great	2	S. Romuald	1
S. William (Wm of Maleval?)	2	S. Sebastian	1
S. James the Greater	2	S. Susanna	1
S. Lawrence	2	S. Zenobius	1
S. Martha	2	S. Daria	1

Total Number of Saints Represented:

57

Total Images:

133

'New' saints :

11 (2.20 per Saint)

'Old' saints :

122 (2.35 per Saint)

Varieties, Types of Saints ²

'New' Saints :	5	(8.77)
'Old' Saints :	52	(91.22)
Saints in <u>Legenda aurea</u> : ³	35	(61.40)
Male Saints:	38	(66.66)
Female Saints:	19	(33.33)
Apostles/Evangelists:	4	(7.01)
Martyrs:	25	(43.85)
Bishops:	14	(24.56)
Virgins:	14	(24.56)
Monks/Friars:	8	(14.03)
Doctors:	6	(10.52)
Deacons:	2	(3.50)
Laymen:	2	(3.50)
Matrons/Widows:	1	(1.75)
Penitents:	2	
Angels:	2	
Pilgrims:	2	
OT/NT Figures:	2	
Apparent local Saints:	4	(7.01)

-
1. Saints counted by each appearance.
 2. Types have been cross-counted.
 3. Original edition (c/f. Graesse).

TABLE C

Images : Saints in 15th Century, Primarily German,

Woodcuts and Metalcuts

Tabulations from P. Heitz, Einblattdrucke des Fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts, 100 Vols., (Strassburg, 1899 ff.). For Vols. 1-50 the Inhaltsverzeichnis (1912, 1919) was used and for Vols. 51-100 the individual lists of contents were checked against the actual wood and metalcuts. Very few cuts extend into the early sixteenth century.

Individual Saints Ranked in Order of Times Represented : ¹

S. John the Evangelist ²	69	S. Andrew	5
S. Catherine of Alexandria ³	68	S. Stephen	5
S. Jerome	61	S. Martin	5
S. Christopher	56	S. Ulrich	5
S. Sebastian	48	S. Bartholomew	5
S. Gregory the Great ⁴	46	S. Gertrude	5
S. Barbara	40	S. Matthew	5
S. Ann	34	S. Lucy	4
S. Anthony Abbot	33	S. Catherine of Siena	4
S. George	32	S. Afra	4
S. Francis	31	S. Peter Martyr	4
S. Brigid	28	S. Joachim	4
Three Holy Kings	27	S. Heinrich	4
S. Dorothea	26	S. Kunigunde	4
S. Mary Magdalene	25	S. Helena	4
S. Peter	24	S. Benedict	4
S. Roch	24	S. Mark	4
S. Margaret	21	S. Luke	4
S. Veronica	18	S. Simon	3
S. John the Baptist	18	S. Alto	3
S. Elizabeth	16	S. Anthony of Padua	3
S. Paul	16	S. Leonard	3
S. Ursula and companions	15	S. Nicholas of Tolentino	3
S. Erasmus	13	S. Lawrence	3
S. Nicholas	13	S. Agatha	3
S. Michael	12	S. Dionysus	3
S. Augustine	11	S. Sebald	3
S. Wolfgang	10	S. Wendelinus	3
S. Bernard of Clairvaux	9	S. Vitus	3
S. Agnes	9	S. Valentine	3
S. Apollonia	9	S. Bruno	2
S. Joseph	8	S. Virinus	2
S. Odilia	8	S. Suso	2
S. Simon of Trent	7	S. Sixtus	2
S. Clara	7	S. Tobias	2
S. Dominic	7	S. Thomas	2

S. Florian	6	S. Albert of Trapani	2
S. Hubert	6	S. Oswald	2
S. James the Greater	6	S. Ambrose	2
S. James the Less	6	S. Genoveva	2
S. Bernardino	6	S. Albert	2
S. Thomas Aquinas	2	S. Martinella	1
S. Martha	2	S. Stephen of Hungary	1
S. Eustace	2	S. Juliana	1
S. Cosmas	2	S. Zachary	1
S. Onuphrius	2	S. Victor	1
S. Catherine of Sweden	2	S. Tryphon	1
S. Bridget of Sweden	2	B. Philip of Florence	1
S. Jodocus	2	S. Maurilius	1
S. Vincent Ferrer	2	S. Magnus	1
S. Veridiana	2	S. Anschar	1
S. Crispin	2	S. Christian	1
S. Crispinian	2	S. Kunnernis	1
S. Adrian	1	C. Gertrude of Nivelles	1
S. Blaise	1	B. Lydwina of Schiedam	1
S. Cyriacus	1	S. Ansanus	1
S. Raphael	1	S. Louis of Toulouse	1
S. Eramram	1	S. Job	1
S. King Henry VI	1	S. Damien	1
S. Maurice	1	S. Emerich	1
S. Omer	1	S. Osmanna	1
S. Roch of Autun	1	S. Angelus	1
S. Hugh of Grenoble	1	S. Bonaventure	1
S. Hugh of Lincoln	1	S. Sophie	1
S. Julian the Hospitaller	1	S. Maximillian	1
S. Anianus	1	S. Justus	1
S. Bernard of Menton	1		

Total Number of Individually Identified Saints : 133

Total Images : 1124

'New' Saints :	121	(5.04 per saint)
'Old' Saints :	1003	(9.20 per saint)

Varieties, Types ⁵

'New' Saints	24	(13.04%)
'Old' Saints	109	(31.95%)

Saints in Legenda aurea : ⁶ 54 (40.60%)

Male Saints :	100	(75.18%)
Female Saints :	33	(24.81%)
Apostles/Evangelists :	13	(9.77%)
Martyrs :	55	(41.35%)
Bishops :	26	(19.54%)
Virgins :	22	(16.54%)
Monks/Friars :	26	(19.54%)
Doctors :	9	(6.76%)
Deacons :	3	(2.25%)
Laymen :	6	(4.51%)

Matrons/Widows :	4	(3.00%)
Penitents :	2	(1.50%)
Angels :	2	(1.50%)
Pilgrims :	1	(0.75%)
OT/NT Figures :	7	(5.26%)

-
1. Saints counted by each appearance.
 2. Partially, high number of representations due to appearances with Christ.
 3. Partially, high number of representations due to cycles of her life.
 4. Partially, high number of representations due to Mass of S.Gregory.
 5. Types have been cross-counted.
 6. Original edition, (c.f. Graesse).

of as local saints. Yet even in Table B, where we might have predicted a definitely localized program of saints, the truly universal saints are preponderant. These findings are from limited sources of information and not too much trust should be placed in them. One cannot be absolutely sure that the realities of later medieval imagery are mirrored in them. If these tabulations have some significance, then, as part of a total pattern of European sanctity, their meaning should emerge.

Manifestations of Cult: Personal Names.

In a religious culture where benedictions and many other prayers were recited according to invariable forms,³⁰⁷ where words consecrated and altered the nature of things, the name, as a special kind of word, had a peculiar potency of its own. The system of the nomina sacra employed by Greek Christian scribes was taken over by Latin scribes no later than the beginning of the fourteenth century. In Latin, the four sacred names of Deus, dominus, Iesus, Christus were always abbreviated, originally not to save time or space, but "for reasons of reverence," "to enhance their aloofness from other words."^{307a} The expression In nomine Domini, amen is encountered on every sort of medieval document and may preface the most secular of transactions.³⁰⁸ Whether a merchant writes 'In the name of God and of profit' across his ledgers or begins a letter about a consignment of goods 'In the name of God to a safe passage,'³⁰⁹ the basic notion is the same, regardless of the precise context: nomen is both omen and numen.³¹⁰ During the fifteenth

century, of course, San Bernardino excites enthusiasm for the cult of the Name of Jesus; but this striking instance ought not to be seen in isolation from a persistent general outlook, whose importance it underscores. A good illustration of this religious attitude towards the name, is the practice of blasphemy, since it implicitly pays tribute to the mightiness of the powers defamed. That the Middle Ages was a great epoch for blasphemers is ^acommon-place.

True it may be, that swearing by the names of saints met with milder protest than that reserved for blaspheming Christ or the Virgin, for even the exemplary Piers Plowman swears by St. Peter.³¹¹ Yet, in the 1377 statutes of Ascoli Piceno, the city's patron St. Emygdus is equally protected, along with God and the Virgin, against those inclined to curse him. Offenders must suffer a fine or, failing that, the cutting out of their blasphemous tongues. It may be significant, however, that of the picturesque and punishable expletives which the lawmakers of Ascoli specifically prohibit, all make reference to God or the Virgin, not the patron saint.³¹² Curses too are marks of cult; but, maledictions aside, the saints were regularly petitioned by name in prayers and litanies. Saints' names could be rallying cries in the thick of battle. Time and space, holidays and shrines, were at least nominally theirs.

The importance of saints' names in such a religious atmosphere cannot be overstressed. The name by which a saint was known could color or even determine his specialized function. Isidore of Seville was not alone in appreciating the delights of etymology.

Learned and popular tastes agreed in finding the root meaning of names highly significant. But popular etymology was content to derive the root from the way the sound of the name struck the ear. In a helpful catalogue, E. Kaluzniacki provides no less than seventy-nine instances of the popular imagination at work upon saints' names.³¹³ So, St.Valentine (in German pronounced Falentin) was venerated for protection against the falling sickness; and St.Boniface was a specialist in beans (Bohnen).³¹⁴ St. Hedwig (d.1243) was known in French as St.Avoye and since avoyer meant 'to put on the right road,' a fifteenth century prayerbook gives an "Orasion à Sainte Avoye qui les gens aide et avoye."³¹⁵ In France, the martyred deacon St.Vincent of Saragossa was patron of wine growers;³¹⁶ but in German speaking lands he was called upon to find lost articles.³¹⁷ Too often, scholars discuss this phenomenon as if it were merely a question of popular humor. To do so, however, falsifies the power of the word in a civilization that endowed words with a 'reality' all their own.

Confusions in regard to saints' names were nevertheless surprisingly frequent, especially if the saint was a foreigner. St. Zita of Lucca (d.1278), a servant girl famous for her good works, could in the stained glass of medieval Somerset become metamorphosed into St.Osyth (d. c.675) an abbess and martyr to the Danish invaders of Essex.³¹⁸ A Somerset testament of 1483 alludes to a stained glass window in honor of St.Sonday, who is none other than St.Dominic.³¹⁹ Doubtless the greatest source of popular (and learned) confusion, and a matter of considerable interest in problems pertaining to cult, ^Nas the homonym.³²⁰

The cult of St.Denis, which was assiduously promoted in the twelfth century by churchmen of the eminence of Hugh of Saint-Victor and Suger, had at its center a figure composed of the Areopagite, the Parisian martyr, and the fifth or sixth century mystic now called the Pseudo-Dionysius.³²¹ Abelard learned to his cost that aspersions cast upon this traditional identification, even if they were fortified with the authority of Bede, provoked a reaction of bitter hostility.³²²

By a process of displacement, a later cult was often able to supplant that of an earlier homonym. Although it was St.Anthony Abbot who with his three colleagues made up the Four Holy Marshalls, an altar jointly dedicated to them from Schönecken (bei Prüm/Rhld.) in 1477, replaces the desert father with his Paduan namesake.³²³ And in some areas the cult of St.Anthony of Padua was encroached upon by that of the Dominican beatus Anthony Pavoni (d.1374).³²⁴ The patron of sailors, St.Erasmus (or Elmo) was slowly overtaken by the Spanish Dominican Bl.Peter Gonzalez (d.1246), who was popularly known as St.Telmo.³²⁵ But the new saint does not necessarily drive out the old, particularly when both saints continue to enjoy wide popular attention. St.Catherine of Siena faithfully imitated the virtuous life of St.Catherine of Alexandria; and the mystic marriage of the Alexandrian must have played its part in the similarly miraculous espousals of the Sienese.³²⁶ Appropriately, the two Catherines were linked in double-dedications and in religious art. At the National Gallery, an altarpiece by Ambrogio Borgognone dated c.1490/91 shows the Virgin and Child with the two Catherines. It is believed to have once hung in a chapel of which

the two homonymous saints were co-titularies.³²⁷

Saints' names in the later Middle Ages were far from being the exclusive property of saints or, indeed, of future saints. Ordinary people had come to bear them and to bestow them upon their children. Why they did so is open to argument. Paul Aebischer boldly asserts:

Le choix d'un nom, au X^e siècle comme aujourd'hui, obéit à la mode bien plus qu'à la piété; c'est à la mode, beaucoup plus qu'à l'influence des ordres religieux, qu'est due la soi-disant christianisation du vocabulaire anthroponymique...³²⁸

The problem of course could be restated: If it was ~~the~~ fashion rather than devotion which dictated a changed style of name giving, how does one then explain the fact that this transformation in fashion occurred? For the fact itself is amply proved and will merit some discussion shortly. At present, it is enough to offer a few scraps of evidence that the connection between a saint^{and} a person named after him found expression in acts of cult, and that this bond between the saint and his namesake was popularly recognized.

A diurnal and breviary dating from the end of the fifteenth century includes a red-lettered St. René (Renatus; 5th cent.) in its Franciscan calendar (12 November) and his office in a Roman breviary; these incongruities and the handsome state of the MS. convinced Leroquais that the MS. had been produced for René II of Lorraine.³²⁹

The Tuscan Franciscan who wrote the Meditationes vitae Christi in the late thirteenth century was probably writing it for a Poor

Clare named Cecilia. Scholars have arrived at this supposition because illuminated MSS. of the Meditationes portray the author pointing to St.Cecilia, and the text itself begins:

Among the noteworthy virtues and excellences of the most holy Saint Cecilia, we read that she always carried the Gospel of Christ hidden in her bosom... I wish to encourage you to do likewise... [Later, the author cites] the example of the Blessed Cecilia.³³⁰

It appears that the author was commending the virtues of St.Cecilia to a nun named after her. Moreover, in this most Christocentric of books, it is remarkable that the opening call for imitatio is not for an imitatio Christi but for an imitatio sanctae.

Was Cecilia the nun's baptismal name or her name in religion? From around the sixth century there are records that a name change might accompany the entry of a novice into the monastic life; ultimately, though not habitually until the eleventh century, this custom influences newly elected popes to choose a papal name upon assuming their office.³³¹ Cardinals had a titular saint as a part of their official name. Thus the future Boniface VIII (d. 1303), Benedict Gaetani, Cardinal titular of St.Nicholas, had on his seal Saints Benedict and Nicholas. When he also received the title of St.Martin, he changed his seal to show Saints Nicholas and Martin.³³² The seal of the Patriarch of Aquileia, Cardinal Marco Barbo, dates from 1474 and includes Saints Mark, Hermagoras (the supposed first bishop of Aquileia), and Fortunatus (deacon and fellow martyr with Hermagoras).³³³

Already discussed as influencing the production of suitable images,³³⁴ the relationship between baptismal patron and namesake

has been made much of as a "mysterious bond" binding together the protégé with his "heavenly protector" who daily watches over him and will be his advocate in the judgement to come.³³⁵ If this relationship begins at baptism, its initiation was plainly not due to the wishes of the baptized, at least not in normal circumstances. Infant baptism in the later Middle Ages meant that Christian name giving was the obligation of the parental generation. The choice of name thus reflects the inclinations, whether in fashion or in devotion, of the generation previous to the one which possesses that name.

Let us look at the naming practices of the Florentine Gregorio Dati (b.1362-d.1435) who in his lifetime had four wives and a Tartar slave as mistress and who altogether fathered twenty-six children of whom twenty-five are known by name.³³⁶ Dati often tells us why he or his wife chose a particular name. Even better, Dati's piety, his orientation towards the importance of names sacred and profane, and his self-consciousness about the links between celestial protector and terrestrial namesake-protégé strike the reader of his libro segreto on almost every page. Thus he begins an enumeration of the personal accounts of his fourth wife, Catherine: "In the name of God and of the Virgin Mary, or [sic. rather, 'and of' ?] SS. Gregory and Catherine."³³⁷ So self-conscious is Dati about the potency of names, that one might urge against the choice of him as an illustration the charge of untypical sensitivity in this direction. Yet, as will be seen, the percentage of his children bearing saints' names is only slightly higher than the similar statistic arrived at for the city of Florence on the

average, about fifty years after Dati's death. From Table D, several points may be drawn. The living and the dead members of Dati's family, his friends, the child's godparents — all are suitable sources for names. With the increasing uses of saints' names, however, a child could very well be directly named in honor or in memory of a relative and still, indirectly, be named after a saint. Or, the child might take the name of the saint whose feast day fell upon his birthday or baptismal day. Also devotion to a given saint, without any necessary correlation with his feast day, could determine the choice of name. The high percentage of names of Dati's children taken directly (~~58.14%~~) or indirectly (~~23.25%~~) from saints' names is extraordinary evidence of the penetration of the cult of saints into the household of an early Quattrocento Florentine of respectable social rank.³³⁸

Gregorio Dati's naming customs, which show the cult of saints at work in the most fundamental way, are a consequence of a revolution in European anthroponymy. What prevailed at the end of the Middle Ages had not prevailed at its beginning. Admittedly, St. John Chrysostom (d.407) had taught:

Let us not... give chance names to children, nor seek to gratify fathers, or grandfathers, or those ~~as~~ allied by descent, by giving their names, but rather choose the names of holy men conspicuous for virtue and for boldness before God.³³⁹

But as the evidence from Christian epigraphy indicates, only rarely does the practice advocated by Chrysostom manifest itself before the closing years of the fourth century.³⁴⁰ Indeed, the Latin Church seemingly undertook no formal campaign to Christianize personal names in the manner which Chrysostom had desired before

the Council of Trent in 1566 recommended the selection of a fore-name from among those of the saints.³⁴¹ Only very slowly in the medieval West did saints' names make any headway against their rivals — pagan or Germanic names^{and names} of good omen ('augurative' names) like Bonaventura or Benvenuto.

Before the eleventh century in Spain, the repertory of Christian names for use as names of persons or churches is still quite limited.³⁴² In France, it is not until the rise of the Capetians to influence in political life that the cult of saints begins to be reflected in personal names.³⁴³ Predictably, in the Germanic lands resistance to Latin-Christian names was even more prolonged.³⁴⁴ For example, the female names of thirteenth century Freiburg-im-Breisgau were almost entirely Germanic.³⁴⁵ Of the forty-three bishops of Utrecht between 696 and 1322, only five bear non-Germanic names.³⁴⁶ Despite a somewhat greater proportion of names of Latin origins, the situation in Italy was not entirely dissimilar with regard to specifically Christian names. The Pisan archival records of the early twelfth century, for instance, reveal that the possession of ^a saints' name was unusual. Of course Iohannes, Martinus, and Petrus recur often, but so do very many Germanic names. The influence of the cult of saints appears to be slight. Most surprisingly, perhaps, since the cathedral at Pisa and many local churches were dedicated to the Virgin, Maria does not occur at all among the female names, which include very many names of Germanic origins such as Berta, Ghisla, etc.³⁴⁷ Lombardic times in Tuscany see a predominance of Germanic names; the twelfth century brings into the region certain Christian names of Byzantine

origin. Yet in the Florence of 1260, out of a large ~~an~~omastic sample, a mere 17.9% of forenames were Christian in character.³⁴⁸

This traditional naming pattern was to be transformed and reversed in the later Middle Ages. Although there is widespread agreement that an anthroponymic revolution occurred, students of the question do not agree on an explanation of it. Needed are more regional studies which would allow us to see the change in chronological and geographical perspective. In a study of the anthroponymy of ruling Genoese politicians, Kedar has shown that the fourteenth century witnessed the strongest impact of saints' names. If we convert his statistics into percentages, his findings will take on a clearer meaning. Thus in the period 1099-1199, 11.72% of Genoese rulers had saints' names; from 1200 to 1299 this percentage had increased to 23.33%; and by 1300-1401 the figure had grown still further to 66.66%.³⁴⁹

In Germany during the course of the fourteenth century saints' names became more popular;³⁵⁰ while on the eve of the Reformation, "it... finally became a general practice to name children after saints, with the result that the old Germanic names pretty well vanished altogether."^{350a} (One thinks of Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon, Martin Bucer, Ulrich von Hutten; and of course of Luther's wife Catherine von Bora.) Although there had been German saints with Germanic names (e.g. Ulrich), the saints of early Christian times, with their names of Greco-Latin derivation, seem to have overshadowed them (cf. Table C). In^s this the evangelical romanticism toward the Primitive Church which would play

so large a part in Protestant theology, already ^{dis}cernible in pre-Reformation German naming patterns? That would be going too far. And besides, there are more plausible explanations.

To continue to trace the great transformation in anthroponymy: It has been estimated for Languedoc, that as early as the thirteenth century, 92% of the names were taken from saints.³⁵¹ Such a high percentage seems not entirely believable. For Florence, Brattö convincingly demonstrates that at the end of the thirteenth century "una vera rivoluzione in questo campo" takes place — i.e., "i nomi di santi finiranno col sopraffare gli altri nomi (author's italics)."³⁵² A still unpublished study of the later medieval anthroponymy of some Italian towns has been summarized by Jacques Heers.³⁵³ Germanic forenames almost disappear; augurative names (which at one time ^{may} have had a quasi-religious character³⁵⁴) diminish very markedly.³⁵⁵ Equally pronounced, and quite striking in fact, is the virtual triumph of the saint's name — e.g. 100 out of 126 in mid-fifteenth century Venice. In the Florence of 1475-87, 75% of baptismal names are saints' names (cf. Table D).³⁵⁶ What had begun as a small trickle of saints' names out of a vast mostly non-Christian onomastic reservoir has become a flood. Perhaps no more persuasive evidence can be found to exemplify the general popularizing of the cult of saints in the later Middle Ages. The saints took over the forenames of Europeans. The decision made at Trent in 1566 to recommend saints' names to the faithful merely endorsed a practice which for the most part had been popularly established a century and a half earlier.³⁵⁷

The triumph of the saints in European anthroponymy can be measured more easily than it can be explained. At one time, scholars favored the theory that, fundamentally, local causes were responsible. Local veneration of a specific saint, it was said, because of a shrine dedicated to him or the possession of his relics, obviously affected naming patterns.³⁵⁸ And it is true that in the primarily toponymic science of Patronzinienforschung, which will be discussed later in connection with shrines, scholars are able to map the extent of a cult also by the appearance of the particular saint's name amongst the local personal names. In this way for example one can date the gradual penetration of (Saint) Liborius into the diocese of Paderborn,³⁵⁹ or prove that the men of Protestant Westkapelle in the Netherlands still retain a memory of the English saint Willibrord (d.739) who traditionally founded the local church dedicated to him: Willeboord occurs in twenty-eight out of nine hundred local men's names.³⁶⁰

The statistics might show a local preference for the local saint's name significantly greater than in the name choices for the populace at large. Then again they might not. Gregorio Dati was the patriotic author of an Istoria di Firenze.³⁶¹ Yet none of the Dati sons are named explicitly for Giovanni-Battista (though cf. Table D, #7 and #11) or Zanobio, or his daughters Reparata or Maria. His roster of name choices, so far as cults especially characteristic of Florence is concerned, is not localized at all. That there may be no correlation between local names and local diocesan cults is confirmed in an anthroponymic study of later medieval Riga, 1384-1482, where the general presence of saints'

names is indisputable. Here, as elsewhere, the pattern of local name choices has its anomalies -- no Marys or Josephs; not one Paul, yet fifty-six Peters; moreover, Henry, Herman, and Thierry are frequent choices, despite the fact that none of these saints enjoyed an official cult in Riga.³⁶²

Kedar, in his already mentioned study of Genoese politicians, signals "l'absence virtuelle du nom de 'Lorenzo' dans une ville dont la cathédrale est dédiée à saint Laurent." He consoles himself with the reflection:

Mais il est rassurant de constater que tous les ouvrages d'anthroponymie sont unanimes à reconnaître le peu d'influence exercée par les noms de saints locaux et par ceux des patrons d'églises locales sur les noms des paroissiens.³⁶³

In short, if we were to meet a later medieval Gemignano, we might suppose with reasonable hope of accuracy that he or his parents came either from San Gemignano or Modena, for in both of these localities our friend's name saint was patron. But it would be very wrong to assume that in either of these two towns Gemignano was the most popular of male forenames.

If local adoptions of the names of local patrons do not account for the general phenomenon of the mass influx of saints' names into European anthroponymy, it may be wise to look for general causes. What makes such a search more reasonable still is that the names of saints which seem to be most often chosen in the later Middle Ages are not the names of local saints, but rather of those universal saints common to the whole of Christendom.³⁶⁴ Anthroponymically, Christendom appears to be more united in the later

Middle Ages than at any period in the wake of the barbarian invasions. Without completely discounting local vernacular adaptations or local variations in frequency or in additions to or subtractions from the general reservoir of names, relative homogeneity of naming patterns in the Latin West makes the theory that some general, universalizing tendencies were at work extremely attractive.

The influx of saints' names — names carrying with them definite religious associations — suggests new circumstances of name giving in which the choice of these names would be now appropriate. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, the custom of taking a new name at baptism became widespread, just at the time when popular dread of the limbus infantium prompted the immediate baptism of infants.³⁶⁵ The plagues of the following century re-enforced the extant fears caused by the prevailing high infant mortality to drive home the idea that earthly life was fleeting and the unbaptized would have no share in the eternal life. For the twenty-two instances which Gregorio Dati provides, the average interval of time passed between the birth and the baptism of his children is only 1.6 days (see Table D).

Now immediate infant baptism meant that the name then and there received would not be 'new' because no long interval of time would have been allowed to elapse, as formerly, between the initial naming of the child and the giving of the child's baptismal name. Canon law still acknowledges that the baptismal name does not necessarily have to be the same as the child's forename in civil law.³⁶⁶ During the later Middle Ages, however, in the major-

city of cases, the name the child received at baptism would be the initial name he received, and would most likely be the one by which he would be known.³⁶⁷

Baptism was a religious rite. It is not improbable that the new simultaneity of name giving and baptism would infuse the former with something of the religious quality of the latter.^{367a} Augurative names had previously expressed a pious wish of some sort. The close juxtaposition of name giving and baptism was bound to create a situation where saints' names were felt to be more appropriate in the new religious environment. In these circumstances, piety of some sort is very easy to understand. Dati's piety is directed towards affirming the solidarity of past and present members of his family: a notion with interesting analogies to the theology of communio sanctorum. He also demonstrates his esteem for his friends in this way. (Would the child's living namesake feel some obligations towards him? As towards a protégé?) At the same time, Dati is in almost every instance concerned to inaugurate a relationship between one of his children and a celestial protector. A suitable choice, to Dati, may depend upon his or his wife's personal devotion towards a given saint. Alternatively, it may depend upon the auspiciousness of the occasion: the significance of the feast day. Discussion of the popular perception of time must be deferred until holidays are considered. For the present, it suffices to say that what occurred on the saint's feast day was in a sense under the aegis of the saint.

Baptism and the new popularity of saints' names may have been intimately connected; but it would be a distortion to forget that

the new high status of saints' names within European anthroponymy comes at a time when the general popularizing of the cult of saints has already begun. For Italy, images seem to reflect this process possibly half a century or more before names do. As with images, the study of personal naming patterns brings the question of which saints were most often popularly chosen as name saints — and why. With some local variations name patrons tend to be the apostles, martyrs, virgins, monks, and bishops of the early Christian centuries. In other words, saints chosen tend to be the older, universal saints of Christendom. A tendency, however, does not account for every instance; and new universals like St. Francis could be immensely popular in particular regions.

Publicity, no doubt, has some bearing on the problem of popular choices of saints' names. Frequency of representation in Christian art might provide a clue; the saints who were most visible could have been the saints whose names were remembered and chosen.³⁶⁸ But until further studies have been made this must remain conjecture. Again, is it the saints who most often appear in sermons, religious dramas, and hagiographic collections, i.e. the saints whose acta are best known, are these the saints whose names people mostly commonly select?³⁶⁹ Finally, holidays are those times when sermons in praise of the saint would be heard, when his legend might be read, when his name would be on the lips of the people. Church calendars are, among other things, lists of which saints are to be liturgically celebrated in a specific locality. The universal saints are the saints par excellence of the Roman calendar.³⁷⁰ The interaction of the Roman calendar and local uses

obviously is a matter of great interest. The popular significance of liturgical issues has not always been sufficiently appreciated.

As a concluding illustration of the popularizing of saints' names in European anthroponymy, Table E lists Franciscan saints and blessed among the tertiaries from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. The list, taken from Franciscan sources, is undoubtedly inflated, the religious orders being notoriously willing to claim as a tertiary of theirs nearly anyone for whom the claim seems plausible and whose sanctity is acknowledged. The inflation of the catalogue does not invalidate it as a sample of name giving patterns. The sainted members of the first and second orders have not been included, since the inconsistently observed practice of assuming religious names renders tabulation impractical. Nevertheless, to signal the impact of two Franciscan saints among members of the first order, these Franciscan saints and blessed named after Francis and after Bernardino have been listed chronologically.

TABLE D

The Progeny of Gregorio Dati

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Based on G.Brucker (ed.), Two Memoirs of Renaissance Florence:
The Diaries of Buonaccorso Pitti and Gregorio Dati
(transl. J. Martines) (New York, 1967)

1. MASO (cf.p.134): "...an illegitimate male child by Margherita, a Tartar Slave.... He was born of 21 December 1391 on St.Thomas's Day [i.e. the apostle Thomas] and I named him after that saint." (p.112)
2. BONICIA: "...a girl whom we called Bandedda in memory of my first wife." (17 May 1394) (p.115).
3. STAGIO: b. 17 March 1396. (p.115). No reasons given for the naming of his first legitimate male child. Stagio was Gregorio's father's name (d.11 Sept. 1374) (pp.107-8).
4. VERONICA SO FALSA: b. 12 March 1397; "we called her after Betta's mother..." (p.116). Named Veronica after the mother of his second wife Isabetta (cf.p.113).
5. BERNARDO AUGUSTINO: b. 27 April 1398 (p.116). No reason for choice of name is given. Saints Bernard and Augustine are occasionally grouped iconographically as Christian intellectuals or doctors.
6. MARI FILIO: b. 1 July 1399 (p.116). No reason for name choice given, but Mari was the name of Betta's father (cf.p.113).
7. FILIPPO GIOVANNA: b. 22 June 1400 (p.116). No reason for name choice given. Filippo, however, was the name of Dati's paternal grandmother (p.107).
8. STAGIO BIANDETTO: b. 13 July 1401 (p.116). The earlier son named Stagio had died 30 July 1400 (p.116); this could very well have influenced the name choice, although no definite reason is given for it.
9. PIERO ANTONIO: b. 5 July 1402; "...we called him Fiero Antonio because of Betta's special devotion to S. Antonio." (p.117) It is probable but not certain that S. Anthony Abbot is meant. Also, Mari Fiero had died 22 August 1400 (p.116).
10. MANETTO DO VICO: b. 27 April 1404 (p.126). No reason for name is given, but of the period 20 May 1403 Dati remarks "...we were in mourning for Manetto Dati who had died the week before" (p.223).
11. AGNOLA GIOVANNI: b. 19 March 1405. A premature girl, mistakenly named as a boy. No discussion of name choice. (pp.126-27).

12. ELIZABETTA CATERINA: b. 8 June 1406; "... and she will be called Lisabetta in memory of my dead wife, Betta." (p.127)
13. ANTONIA MARGHERITA: b. 4 June 1407 (p.127). No reason for name choice given. (p.127).
14. NICCOLO: b. 31 July 1411 (p.127). No reason for name choice given.
15. GIROLAMO DOMENICO: b. 1 October 1412: "... Ginevra had a son whom, from devotion to St. Jerome - since it was yesterday that her pains began (30 September: St. Jerome's day) - I called Girolamo Domenico." (p.127) "As for the name Domenico, which both Manetto (no.10) and Girolamo bore (and Manetto d.1418 was still living when Girolamo was given it), it may have some connection with Gregorio's brother, Lionardo, who was prominent in the Dominican Order and (in 1411? pp.129-30) later became General of it.
16. JACOPO FILIPPO: b. 1 May 1415: "We named him after the two holy apostles, Jacopo and Filippo, on whose feast day he was born and we shall call him Filippo." (p.128)
17. GHITA: b. 24 April 1416: "We called her Ghita in memory of our mother." (p.128) Gregorio's mother had died 29 January 1414. (p.130)
18. LISA: b. 13 July 1419 (?). No particulars. (p.128)
19. SANDRA: d. 1 July 1420. No other details. (p.132)
20. AN UNNAMED GIRL (cf. p.128;134) Does she die before baptism? Dati seems to be referring to her when he says "not counting the one that did not live to be baptised..." (p.134) for in fact he does not appear to count her. (Yet cf. p.135)
21. GINEVRA FRANCESCA: b. 4 October 1422 (p.135). No particulars given, but here both choices are clearly explicable. Gregorio Dati's third wife Ginevra (d. 7 September 1420(?) (p.132)) was the source of the first of these names, consistently with the pattern of no. 2 and no. 12. The female form of Francesco is interesting for it shows that gender was no obstacle to name choices: 4 October is the feast day for St. Francis.
22. ANTONIO FELICE: b. 7 January 1424 (p.135). Reasons for first name choice are not given (cf. no.9), but since one of the godparents at baptism was Abbot Simone of S. Felice perhaps this helps to account for the second name (p.135).
23. LIONARDO BENEDETTO: b. 20 March 1425; "... a healthy and attractive child who was baptized the following day - the 21st - which was the feast of St. Benedict." (p.135) Although nothing is said about the first name, it is obviously in honour of Gregorio's brother.

24. ANNA BANDECCA: b. 26 July 1426 (p.135). No reasons for name choice given. Still, the 26th of July was St. Ann's day, which makes the choice understandable. For Bandecca, see no.2; this earlier daughter died 1 August 1420 (p.132).
25. FILIPPA FELICE: b. 28 August 1427 (p.135). No reason given, but once again (cf. no. 22) the Abbot of S. Felice is mentioned, this time as the first of her "sponsors" (p.135). As for Filippa (cf. no. 7), Filippa Giovanna is not cited among the living children in 1422 (pp.134-35).
26. BARTOLOMEA DOMENICA: b. 2 June 1431 (p.136). No reason for choice of names is given. On Domenica, cf. no. 10, no. 15.

Total Names (each name counted: e.g. Tri Fiero no.6 = 2): 43

1. Names explicitly or presumably chosen from Relatives or Friends, Living and Dead:	15 (34.88%)
2. Names explicitly chosen from Saints: (e.g. Day, etc.)	8 (18.60%)
3. Names presumably chosen from Saints:	20 (46.51%)
4. Names from first category which are also Saints' Names:	7 (16.28%)
Total Number of Names from Saints:	35 (81.39%)

- * Margherita, slave girl - no.1
 Bandecca, first wife - no children
 Botta, second wife - nos. 2-9
 Cinevra, third wife - nos. 10-20
 Catherine, fourth wife - nos. 21-26

TABLE E

Claimed Franciscan Tertiary Saints and Blessed,¹ 1200 - 1500, Illustrating Name-Giving Patterns.

Tabulations from P. Leon, Vies des Saints et des Bienheureux des
Trois Ordres de Saint Francois (abridged, Guy Daval, new ed.)
(Vanves, 1939)

13th Century

Bl. Angela of Foligno	Bl. Humiliane Cerchi
Bl. Veridiana	Bl. Novellone of Faenza
St. Margaret of Cortona	St. Louis of France
Bl. Luchasius	St. Rose of Viterbo
Bl. Gerard of Villamagna	St. Elizabeth of Hungary
Bl. Gerard of Lunel	Bl. Peter of Siena
St. Ferdinand of Castile	

Total: 13

Percentage with Saints' Names: 53.35

14th Century

St. Conrad of Einsieden	St. Roch
St. Yves	St. Leon of Abbeville
Bl. Vivaldus or Ubaldus	Bl. Charles of Blois
Bl. John Helingotto	St. Bridget of Sweden
Bl. Michaelina of Cesaro	Bl. Joan of Siena
Bl. Raymond Rulle	Bl. Delphina
St. Elizabeth of Portugal	Bl. Mugolino Camiloti
Bl. Francis of Cesaro	Bl. Bartolo Buonnedoni

Total: 16

Percentage with Saints' Names: 81.25

15th Century

Bl. Joan of Valois	Bl. Angelina of Marsciano
St. Francis the Roman	Bl. Lucy of Calatagirone
Bl. Henry	Bl. Nicholas
Bl. Joanne de Ville	Bl. John della Pace
Bl. William of Sicily	Bl. Elizabeth the Good

Total: 10

Percentage with Saints' Names: 100

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1. The list, arranged according to appearance of each saint or blessed in the calendar year, is undoubtedly inflated (e.g. St. Louis, St. Roch were probably not Franciscan tertiaries). Obviously, the small number of names in each group limits the value of this table for showing name-giving patterns as a whole.

Claimed First Order Franciscan Saints and Blesseds,

c. 1200-1500, Named Francis or Bernardino.

Names from Bibliotheca Sanctorum, ¹
(Rome, 1961 ff) Vols.II-III, V.

St. Francis of Assisi (d. 1226)

Bl. Francesco d'Aragona (d.1493)
Bl. Francesco di Campobasso (d. c.1480)
Bl. Francesco da Borgo San Sepolcro (d.1314)*
Bl. Francesco da Caldarola (d.1507)
Bl. Francesco di Cardaillac (d.1404)
Bl. Francesco da Cropani (d.1496)*
Bl. Francesco da Fabriano (d.1322)
Bl. Francesco da Spoleto (d.1298)*
Bl. Francesco da Stroncone (d. c.1495)
Bl. Francesco da Venezia (d. c.1370)

* May be without Franciscan affiliations.

St. Bernardino of Siena (d.1444)

Bl. Bernardino da Bibbiena (d.1490)
Bl. Bernardino da Feltre (d.1494)
Bl. Bernardino da Neto (d.c.1452)
Bl. Bernardino da Perugia (d.1450)
Bl. Bernardino da Rende (d.c. 1488)
Bl. Bernardino da Rionero Sannitico (d. c.1505)
Bl. Bernardino da Torrijos (d. c.1510)

1. Bibliotheca Sanctorum includes unconfirmed cults from the Franciscan Martyrology.

Chapter I: NOTES.

1. The title of an essay by G.G. Coulton reprinted in his Ten Medieval Studies (Beacon paperback edition) (Boston, Mass., 1959), pp.189-200.
2. E. Mâle, L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France (3rd edition) (Paris, 1925), pp.163-64. There was evidently a traditional d'Estouteville allegiance to this saint. (Hereafter Mâle - FIN)
3. Cf. Inferno, Canto II, ll.97-99: The Virgin Mary calls Santa Lucia and tells her: 'Or ha bisogno il tuo fedele di te, ed io te lo raccomando.' Dante Alighieri, La Divina Commedia (ed. H. Oelsner), (London, 1933), p.20; explanatory note, p.24.
4. The whereabouts of published canonization processes may be discovered from the Bollandists' Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina 2 Vols. (Brussels, 1898-1899; re-impression, 1949) and its Supplementi (Brussels, 1911) (afterwards, BHL and BHL-Supp.). A modern revision is in progress. More recently, but less inclusive is H. Delehaye, et al (editors), Propylaeum (ad Acta Sanctorum) Decembris (Brussels, 1940). There is usually good bibliographic information provided with the entry of each saint in the Bibliotheca Sanctorum, 12 Vols., (Rome, 1961ff.).
5. See, for example, M. Coezns, AB, Vol.LVII, (1939), p.428.
6. Note the heavily liturgical indices of cult in J. van der Straeten, "Saint Livier - notes sur son culte et sur sa légende," in AB, Vol.LXXXVI, (1968), pp.373-89.
7. S. Roisin, L'Hagiographie cistercienne dans le diocèse de Liège au XIII^e siècle (Louvain/Brussels, 1947), p.135. Varied signs of cult are discussed, pp.132-35.
8. K. Foster (ed./transl.), The Life of Saint Thomas Aquinas: Biographical Documents (London/Baltimore, 1959), p.96. Peter of Montesangiovanni had known Thomas for ten years before this incident (p.94).
9. D. Attwater, A Dictionary of Saints (London, 1948), p.262.
10. Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora (Rolls Series, ed. Luard), Vol. III (London, 1876), p.521.
11. Guillelmi de Nangiaco, Chronicon in Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France (ed. Daunou & Naudet), Vol.XX (Paris, 1840), p.558.
12. A.R. Malden, The Canonization of Saint Osmund (Wilts Record Society) (Salisbury, 1901), p.239.
13. O. Reber, Die Gestaltung des Kultes weiblicher Heiliger im Spätmittelalter. Die Verehrung der Heiligen Elisabeth, Klara, Hedwig, und Birgitta (Hersbruck, 1963) speaks of "Wunder als wesentliche Manifestation der Heiligkeit" and cites Caesarius of Heisterbach: 'Miracula vero non sunt de sanctitatis substantia, sed quedam sanctitatis indicia' (p.126).
14. Cf. H. Delehaye, Sanctus, op.cit., p.244.

15. Ibid., pp.158-59.
16. Malden, op.cit., pp.viii-x; 35-45 for, respectively, commentary and text.
17. Ibid., pp.xi-xvii; 56-84.
18. Ibid., p.108
19. Ibid., pp.xxviii; 135; 142-43.
20. Toynbee, op.cit., pp.165; 191-92.
21. Ibid., p.205.
22. Ibid., p.194.
23. J.Ancelet-Hustache, Ste. Elisabeth de Hongrie (Paris, 1947), p.327.
24. R.M. Woolley, St.Hugh of Lincoln (London, 1927), p.163ff. The importance of these early posthumous miracles in helping to stimulate enthusiasm for the new cult at the graveside (along with the great rôle of miracles in hagiography) is brought out by H.Hefe, Die Bettelorden und das Religiöse Volksleben oberund mittellitaliens im XIII Jahrhundert (Leipzig & Berlin, 1910), pp.105-6.
25. L. Kern, "Le Bienheureux Rainier de Borgo san Sepolcro", Revue d'Histoire Franciscaine, Vol.VII (1930), pp.233-83; p.238.
26. Ibid., p.237.
27. A. Brunacci, "Leggende e Culto di S.Rufino in Assisi," Bollettino della Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria, Vol.XLV (1948), pp.5-91; see pp.28, 30.
28. E. Delaruelle, "La Spiritualité des pèlerinages à Saint-Martin de Tours du V^e au X^e siècle" pp.201-43 of Pellegrinaggi e Culto dei Santi in Europa fino alla 1^a Crociata (Todi, 1963), pp.205-206ff. (Afterwards, Pellegrinaggi).
29. See H. Delehaye, "Les premiers 'libelli miraculorum'," AB, Vol.XXIX (1910), pp.427-34.
30. Cf. J.A. MacCulloch, "Miracles," Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics (Edinburgh, 1915), Vol.8, p.684.
31. H.C. Lea, History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church (fourth edition, revised) (London, 1932), p.87. Reference in the second edition, enlarged, p.113 footnote 1: 'Quinquaginta quinque millia quingenta quinque/ Omnes canonizati a te sunt translati./ Est monachus sanctus./ Caput vero Benedictus (Birk de Monast. Campidonens. c.25).
32. See A. Vauchez, "Les stigmates de saint Francois et leurs détracteurs dans les derniers siècles du moyen âge," École Française de Rome, Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, Vol.LXXX (1968), pp.595-625. (The series to be cited as Mélanges.)
33. Cited and translated in P.Sabatier, Life of St.Francis of Assisi (transl. Houghton) (London, 1899), p.436. On the Bl.Dodo (d. 1231), a Premonstratensian monk of Hascha in Frisia who was stigmatized in unknown circumstances (possibly of self-mutilat-

- ion) and who died a very old man so that his stigmatization was probably earlier than that of St. Francis, see H. Thurston, The Physical Phenomena of Mysticism (ed. J. H. Creehan) (London, 1952), p. 39. For knowledge of St. Francis's stigmatization before his death: W. Seton, "The last two years of the life of St. Francis," St. Francis of Assisi: 1226-1926: Essays in Commemoration (ed. Seton) (London, 1926), pp. 221, 240.
34. J. Moorman, A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517 (Oxford, 1968), p. 83.
 35. L. Réau, Iconographie de l'art chrétien (Paris, 1955ff), Vol. III.1, p. 527.
 36. V. Leroquais, Les Bréviaires manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France (Paris, 1934), Vol. I, p. cviii, citing Wadding, Annales, IV, p. 129 as his source. But see Vauchez, "Les stigmates," op. cit., p. 618 and footnote 2 where the institution of the feast is attributed to the chapter general of Cahors in 1337; his most recent authority is N. Papini in Miscellanea Franciscana, Vol. XXXV (1935), p. 164. Feast-title from a Franciscan breviary of the second half of the fifteenth century: Leroquais, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 174.
 37. Vauchez, "Les stigmates," op. cit., pp. 605-8; 619; 622-23.
 38. Ibid., pp. 601-4, and passim.
 39. Ibid., p. 604.
 40. Ibid., pp. 608-11.
 41. See R. M. Huber, A Documented History of the Franciscan Order, 1182-1517 (Milwaukee, Wisc. and Washington, D.C., 1944), p. 424. On pre-canonization representations of St. Catherine of Siena, see L. Pastor, The History of the Popes (transl. Antrobus), Vol. III, (London, 1894), p. 290 and references: "Catherine's likeness, copies of which had by the beginning of the 15th century, been multiplied in Venice, was in the possession of thousands." (Woodcuts appear to be meant?) Cf. G. Kaftal, St. Catherine in Tuscan Painting (Oxford, 1949) where St. Catherine is depicted in the act of being stigmatized in the predella of an altarpiece dated c. 1400: pp. 9, 81 (fig. 21).
 42. J. M. Pou y Marti (ed.), Bullarium Franciscanum, n.s. (Quaracchi, 1949), Vol. III, p. 138 no. 331.
 43. Ibid.
 44. Ibid., p. 354ff. no. 758; p. 365 no. 769.
 45. Ibid., p. 668 no. 1342.
 46. Huber, op. cit., p. 424.
 47. Pou y Marti, Bullarium, op. cit., p. 414 no. 838.
 48. Ibid., Bull dated 10 April 1478, p. 524 no. 1064.
 49. Ibid., Bull dated 3 October 1478, p. 542 no. 1106.
 50. Ibid., p. 138, footnote 1; Huber, op. cit., p. 425 fn. 35.

51. Toynbee, op.cit., p.191.
52. Malden, op.cit., pp. x, 41.
53. VAUCHEZ, p.226.
54. See, for example, C.G. Loomis, White Magic: an Introduction to the Folklore of Christian Legend (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), pp. 41, 44, 55-57, 80, and the entire section (Chapter IX) on "taboos and punishments" (pp.97-102) which Loomis calls "negative magic" (p.97).
55. Cf. H. Gunter, Psychologie de la Légende, (transl. Goffinet) (Paris, 1954), p.160ff. B. de Gaiffier, Études critiques, op.cit., p.421.
56. In addition to the references given in notes 54 and 55, see de Gaiffier, Études, p.491 and fnnt.3; P. Rousset, "La Croyance en la justice immanente à l'époque féodale," Le Moyen Age, Vol.LIV, 1948, pp.225-48: p.230. One of Poggio's facetiae (No.XCIX) treats this theme, apparently without satiric intent; Poggio Bracciolini, The Facetiae or Jocular Tales, (Paris, 1879), Vol.I, pp.154-55. For this same motif in Christian art: G. Kaftal, Saints in Italian Art: Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting (Florence, 1952) (hereafter Kaftal-Tuscan), figs. 486, 940; in the former miracle, represented in an altarpiece dated 1240-45, St.Francis punishes the daughter of a woman who has not kept his holiday by making her eyes fall out and her 'mouth open from ear to ear'; when the mother repents, the saint cures the daughter (col.405); in the second figure, St. Peter Martyr punishes three non-observant women of Utrecht. From these illustrations, Kaftal deduces that "the feast days were scrupulously observed" (p.xxxiii), but it appears to the present writer that just the opposite may have been the case, if such threats of disaster were necessary to enforce observation.
57. On the gloria posthuma of the saint, used by the Bollandists as a near equivalent to miracula post mortem: B. de Gaiffier, "Discussionne" of Settimane di Studio ... XVII (Spoleto, 1970), Vol.I, p.189. The precedents of plagiarism: H. Delehaye, The Legends of the Saints (transl. Crawford) (Notre Dame, Ind., 1961), p.91ff. and passim.
58. Hefele, op.cit., p.34 and footnote 3.
59. The self-conscious Biblicalism of miracles in the Dialogues of Gregory the Great and a general use of miracles of Biblical inspiration among early medieval hagiographers are brought out by B. de Gaiffier, "Miracles bibliques et vies de saints," pp. 50-61 of his Études critiques. S. Roisin, op.cit., p.186 wonders aloud whether or not hagiographic parallels intentionally or unconsciously aim towards analogies with Jesus or the great saints of the past. The Conformities of Fra Bartolommeo of Pisa may be a systematic instance of a diffuse general tendency.
60. "Un thème hagiographique: le pendu miraculeusement sauvé," pp. 194-226 of the author's Études.
61. Ibid., p.225.

62. Cf. Rousset, loc.cit., p.241.
63. De Gaiffier, loc.cit., and "Liberatus a suspendio," pp.227-32 of Études.
64. For St.Edmund, see C.H.Lawrence, St.Edmund of Abingdon (Oxford, 1960), p.14. And for Bl.Thomas (Bellacci), C.C. Calzolari, Santi e Beati Fiorentini (Florence, 1965), p.160.
65. Retold by M.M. Gorce, Saint Vincent Ferrier, 1350-1419 (Paris, 1924), pp.105, 110.
66. G.G. Coulton, From St.Francis to Dante (second edition) (London, 1907), pp. 32-37 translates and comments upon some passages from Salimbene.
67. Ibid., p.22 (in connection with the Great Hallelujah of 1233).
68. F. Lanzoni, Storia Ecclesiastica e Agiografia Faentina dal XI al XV Secolo (Studi e Testi 252) (Vatican City, 1969), pp. 256-57 (shortened to Lanzoni-Storia).
69. MacCulloch, "Miracles", loc.cit., p.685.
70. See L. de Kerval, Sancti Antonii de Padua vitae duae (Collection d'études et de documents, Vol.V) (Paris, 1904) and idem., L'Évolution et le développement du merveilleux dans les légendes de S.Antoine de Padoue (Opuscules de critique historique, fasc. xii-xiv) (Paris, 1906).
71. Réau, op.cit., Vol.III.1 (1958), pp.115-21. Kaftal-Tuscan, cols.77-88.
72. de Kerval, Évolution, op.cit., p.1.
73. See the discussion in AB, Vol.LI (1933), pp.451-56 where de Gaiffier reviews some books on St.Anthony of Padua.
74. Acta Sanctorum (hereafter AASS) Junii, Vol.II (Venice, 1742), pp. 718-25. Also, de Kerval, vitae duae, op.cit., pp.70-79.
75. de Kerval, vitae duae, op.cit., pp.257-59.
76. Idem., Évolution, op.cit., p.4ff. (supernaturalizing of natural incidents); p.27ff. (doubling and tripling of miracles); pp. 34-35 (borrowings from St.Anthony Abbot's temptations); p.35 (borrowing from story of St.Francis); p.37ff. (from Salimbene).
77. de Kerval, vitae duae, op.cit., p.259ff.
78. Réau, op.cit., Vol.III.1, p.117.
79. Cited in VAUCHEZ, pp.230-31.
80. Réau, op.cit., Vol.III.1, p.117.
81. Huizinga, op.cit., pp.171-73.
82. P. Perdrizet, Le Calendrier parisien à la fin du moyen âge d'après le bréviaire et les livres d'heures (Publications de la faculté des lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, fasc.63) (Paris, 1933), p.82 (Hereafter, Perdrizet-Calendrier).
83. Kern, "Le bienheureux Rainier de Borgo san Sepolcro," loc.cit., p.237.

84. He was naturally also remembered by his order. Ibid., pp. 233-36; 245. Cf. Kaftal-Tuscan, cols.883-86.
85. H. Delehaye in AB, Vol.XXVIII (1909), p.489.
86. Mâle-FIN, p.188. P.Perdrizet, La Vierge de miséricorde; étude d'un thème iconographique (Paris, 1908), pp.110-112.
87. Perdrizet-Calendrier, p.80.
88. AASS, Jan. Vol.II (Brussels, 1863), p.623.
89. J. Sonet, Répertoire d'incipit de prières en ancien français (Société de publications romanes et française, LIV) (Geneva, 1956), p.304 item 1743 (correctly dated?).
90. M. Coens in AB, Vol.XLI (1923), p.216.
91. A. Fliche, "Le problème de saint Roch," AB, Vol.LXVIII (1950), pp.343-61.
92. M. Coens reviewing J.Despetis, Conférence historique sur saint Roch (Montpellier, 1914), in AB, Vol.LXI (1923), p.214.
93. Fliche, loc.cit., pp.358-59
94. Ibid., especially the summary of Roch's career on p.361.
95. Ibid., pp.344-51. Fliche's discussion is indebted to the work of Paolo Guerrini (cf. AB, Vol.XLI (1923), p.215).
96. Ibid., p.351.
97. Ibid., p.346.
98. See AB, Vol.XLI (1923), p.215.
99. AASS, Aug., Vol.III (Paris, 1867), p.410.
100. Ibid., p.410.
101. Fliche, loc.cit., p.346. The earliest evidence of cult dates from 1413: p.352.
102. Perdrizet-Calendrier, pp.176-77.
103. Th. Graesse (ed.), Jacobi a Voragine, Legenda aurea, vulgo historia lombardica dicta (3rd edition) (Breslau, 1890), p.402
104. G. Schreiber, "Privilegia sanctorum: Volkstümliche Kanonistik und Hagiographie," Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgesch. Kanonist. Abteilung (Weimar) Vol.LXXIV (1957), pp.327-42; esp.327-30.
105. Ibid., pp. 330-32 for discussion; citation from p.331.
106. Ibid., p.332. It is a pity that Schreiber has not reproduced this document (Clm. 21068, saec.XV, foll.231-234v.).
107. For the discussion, ibid., p.332ff.
108. Ibid., p.333.
109. Schreiber refers to a possible location near a Slavic diocese, ibid., p.333. For St.Erhard, see Attwater, op.cit., p.94 and BHL, I, pp.389-90. The conjecture of a near-Regensburg location is just that; and it is my own. St.Henry II Naturally suggests the area of Bamberg.

110. Schreiber, loc.cit., p.332.
111. Ibid., p.338: MS found in Cod.786, p.270; Cod.918, p.441; Cod.929, p.171.
112. Ibid., pp.334; 340-41.
113. Ibid., pp.334-35.
114. Graesse, op.cit., pp.12-22.
115. Schreiber, loc.cit., p.335.
116. Cf. DELARUELLE, "Turba Magna", pp.795-96.
117. Huizinga, op.cit., p.172.
118. For France, cf. Perdrizet-Calendrier, pp.180-81, and passim.
119. P. Grojean (ed.), Henrici VI Angliae Regis miracula postuma (Subsidia hagiographica, 22) (Brussels, 1935). Cf. DELARUELLE, "Le goût du merveilleux," pp.826-28.
120. This chapter heading from W.E.H. Lecky's History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe (London, 1910), Vol.I, pp.1-187, is meant to apply to post-reformation history. Yet, a case could be made that the sense of the miraculous in the later Middle Ages was not identical with that of the earlier medieval period. Cf. P. Rousset, "Le Sens du merveilleux à l'époque féodale," Le Moyen Age, Vol.LXII (1956), pp.25-37.
121. Cited from J.B. Mencke, Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum (Leipzig, 1728), Vol.II, col.2011 by C.H. Lawrence, St.Edmund of Abingdon. A Study in Hagiography and History (Oxford, 1960), p.26. Lawrence comments: "This observation on papal policy is borne out by the wording of papal mandates and by the increasing care with which evidence of virtue was being sifted" (ibid.).
122. Ibid., pp.11-12. Earlier, Pope Urban II had declared that the depositions of eye-witnesses to miracles were necessary for a canonization. (For references on this point, see P. Grosjean in AB, Vol.XLIX (1931), p.215.)
123. Cf. Lawrence, op.cit., pp.12-13. Yet note the time lag in applying papal procedures to English depositions, ibid., p.27.
124. Toynbee, op.cit., p.190 and references, footnote 2.
125. H. Grauert, "Meister Johann von Toledo," Sitzungsberichte der Philos.-Philol.-u. der Hist. Classe der Königl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, (1901), pp.159-60.
126. Toynbee, op.cit., pp.166; 188-89.
127. Cf. ibid., p.189.
128. KEMP, p.111.
129. Bernard Lord Manning, The People's Faith in the Time of Wyolif (Cambridge, 1919), p.81, with references to the sources.
130. G.G. Coulton, Life in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1967), Vol. I, p.178 translates this extract from an entry dated 1340 in Grandisson's Register. See Coulton's note on Grandisson, ibid., p.177.

131. F. Rapp, L'Eglise et la vie religieuse en Occident à la fin du moyen âge (Paris, 1971), p.306. The exposure of a fraudulent miracle led to the death at the stake of four Dominicans in Berne (1509): see B. Moeller, "Religious Life in Germany on the Eve of the Reformation." in Pre-Reformation Germany (G. Strauss, ed.) (Bristol, 1972), pp.13-42; the events at Berne are discussed, with bibliography, on p.18. About miracles, the author affirms: "Miracle sites multiplied rapidly and were to be found in every corner of the empire. Often enough these miracles were manifest frauds..." (p.18).
132. Attwater, op.cit., p.136, says that the death in 1315 of Bl. Henry of Treviso "was the sign for an enthusiastic popular cultus and 276 miracles are said to have been wrought through his relics." (Cf. BHL, Vol.I, pp.567-68 for vita and miracula.) Now in the first story of the second day of his Decameron, Boccaccio, at the beginning of his tale, gives a brief sketch of the rise of this cult. Arrigo (i.e. Henry) was a simple man who had a popular reputation for sanctity. At his death, so the Trevisans assert, the cathedral bells miraculously began to ring. According to Boccaccio, this was interpreted as a confirmation: the miracle of the bells meant that Arrigo was a saint. The sick of Treviso began to beg for cures through contact with his body. At this point three light-hearted Florentine impersonators feign a miracle-cure in the church where St.Arrigo is lying. But the jest is found out. The people who crowd the church are outraged at this blasphemous mockery of their saint, and the Florentines are lucky to survive the ordeal which follows. It is interesting, Boccaccio seems to be saying, that miracles which are so easily faked should be taken as the confirmation and guarantee of a man's sanctity. The unreliability of miracles as proof of holiness is again implied in the story of the wicked Ser Ceperello (Decameron, first day, first tale) who makes a false confession and after his death is metamorphosed by popular opinion into Saint Ciappelletto. People believe that, for those who ask him in the name of this 'saint', God works miracles. The theological explanation is given by the narrator, Panfilo. Even if we unknowingly choose an enemy of God as our intercessor before Him, God, aware of our intent and our faith, may grant our prayers.
133. See Prosper Lambertini (Pope Benedict XIV), Doctrina de Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Beatorum Canonizatione (in synopsis redacta ab Emmanuele de Azevedo) (Venice, 1777), Vol.I, Chapter V "De miraculorum necessitate in causis Beatificationis, & Canonizationis," p.298ff.
134. Mâle-FIN, p.155ff; 198.
135. Mâle says that to the cult of saints we owe "la meilleure partie des œuvres d'art de la fin du moyen âge," (ibid., p.161).
136. Cf. Millard Meiss, Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death (Harper paperback ed.) (New York, 1964), pp. 105-21 for some instances from the mystic experiences of St.

- Catherine of Siena. For a similar case, see H.R. Hahnloser, "Du Culte de l'image au moyen âge," Atti del II Congresso Internaz. di Studi Umanistici (Centro Internaz. di Studi Umanistici) (Rome, 1953), pp.230-32. Examples could easily be multiplied for this phenomenon.
137. Huizinga, op.cit., Chapter XII, pp.151-77.
 138. A. Grabar, Christian Iconography: A Study of its Origins (London, 1969).
 139. E. Bevan, Holy Images (London, 1940), pp.124-27.
 140. Wm. Durandus, The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments (transl. by J.M. Neale & B. Webb) (third ed.) (London, 1906), p.39. '... nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc idiotis cernentibus praestat pictura...' Idem., Prochiron vulgo rationale divinatorum officiorum (Madrid, 1775), p.12.
 141. On Durandus, F.L. Cross (ed.), The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (London, 1966), pp.429-30 supplies a biographical note and some basic bibliography.
 142. G.C. Bascape, Lineamenti di Sigillografia Ecclesiastica. Parte Prima. (extract from Scritti storici e giuridici in memoria di A. Visconti) (Varese/Milan, 1955), p.109 and respective figures. In a review of A. Coulon, Inventaire des sceaux de la Bourgogne (Paris, 1912) H. Delehaye remarks on the close tie between representations of saints on seals and their contemporary biographies; sometimes an attribute replaces a saint - e.g. for the abbey of Vézelay, a jar of perfumes instead of St.Mary Magdalene (AB, Vol.XXXII (1913), p.101).
 143. Kaftal-Tuscan, pp.xviii-xix discusses the formation of scenes into narrative, hagiographic cycles. Less satisfactory, perhaps, is his distinction between 'images' (devotional in intent, glorifying the saint in a timeless realm, as in heaven, or grouping together various saints from different historical epochs) and 'scenes' (didactic in intent, illustrating a text of the saint's life and hence depicting the saint in time). Kaftal concedes that certain 'scenes' like the stigmatization of St.Francis and St.Christopher bearing the Christ Child quickly became (isolated) 'images'. One might add that 'devotional' and 'didactic' motives are inseparably wedded together in both narrative episodes and more static representations. Furthermore, within the so-called images, identifying attributes allude to the saint's patronage speciality as well as to his individual life or martyrdom, i.e. historical references and narrative elements are certainly not absent.
 144. F. Wormald, "Some illuminated manuscripts of the lives of the saints," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Vol.XXXV (1952-53), p.252 says that "extremely little is known about any early series of scenes from the lives of saints in the West" and that "none actually exists before the ninth century either on the walls of churches or in ... manuscripts." On the other hand, J. and P. Courcelle, Iconographie de Saint Augustin: les cycles du XIV^e siècle (Paris, 1965), p.13, interpret the

- literary evidence and claim that there were cycles of St. Martin, at Tours, from the sixth century.
145. M. Thibout, "La légende de sainte Foy peinte sur le mur de la sacristie au transept de l'église de Conques," Mélanges René Crozet (Poitiers, 1966), Vol.II, pp.1367-70.
 146. Courcelle, op.cit., pp.13-15; 108 and plates passim.
 147. Ibid., pp.62-72.
 148. Kaftal, St.Catherine, op.cit., p.10.
 149. I.Crigo, The Merchant of Prato (London, 1957), p.225.
 150. National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, exhibit item NJ90.
 151. P. Devos reviewing H.-F. Rosenfeld, Der hl. Christophorus, seine Verehrung und seine Legende (Leipzig, 1937), in AB, Vol.LVI (1938), p.190.
 152. Ibid., pp.190-91.
 153. Perdrizet-Calendrier, p.182. Graesse, op.cit. p.430.
 154. H. Delehaye, "L'Hagiographie ancienne de Ravenne," AB, Vol. XLVII (1929), p.5 calls these mosaics "la base la plus sûre des recherches sur le culte des saints dans la cité impériale."
 155. Lorenzo Valla, Scritti Filosofici e Religiosi (transl. & ed. by G. Radetti) (Florence, 1953), p.460.
 156. Réau, op.cit., Vol.III.3 (1959) p.1277.
 157. Foster, op.cit., pp.103-4. Réau, supra.
 158. Cf. H. Delehaye, Cinq leçons sur la méthode hagiographique (Brussels, 1934), pp.133-34.
 159. Abbots and bishops: q.v. C.Cahier, Les Caractéristiques des saints dans l'art populaire (Paris, 1867), 2 Vols.
 160. G. Kaftal, St.Dominic in Early Tuscan Painting (Oxford, 1948), p.12.
 161. Ibid. and note Durandus, Symbolism, op.cit., p.49 on the lily: "Confessors are painted with their insignia... and some with lilies, which denote chastity."
 162. Kaftal, St.Dominic, supra, pp.12-13.
 163. Ibid., p.11.
 164. Perdrizet, Vierge, op.cit., pp.40-41. Cf. C.N.L. Brooke, "St.Dominic and his first Biographer," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (5th series), Vol.XVII (1967), pp. 23-40.
 165. Réau, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.427-28.
 166. Kern, "Le bienheureux Rainier," loc.cit., pp.278-83. Kern explains the paternoster, pp.280-81.
 167. Ibid., pp.181-83.
 168. On this saint, see Judas Quiriacus in Attwater, op.cit., p.174. BHL, Vol.II, pp.101-22 gives him as Quiriacus (Iudas). Cf. G.

- Kaftal, Saints in Italian Art: Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Painting (Florence, 1965) (Henceforward Kaftal-Central), col.548, fig.631.
169. Poggio Bracciolini, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.131-32.
 170. For Italy, it may be significant that Kaftal, supra, only treats this saint in connection with another (St.Helen). Does this indicate a limited surviving imagery or a limited visual cult? If the latter, how can Poggio make such apt visual allusions? Of course Poggio may have known of this saint because of his friend who came from the saint's town and bore the saint's name — the humanist Cyriacus of Ancona. (Cf. J.Sezneo, The Survival of the Pagan Gods (transl.Sessions) (New York, 1953), pp.200-01.) St.Cyriac was venerated beyond Ancona: Perdrizet-Calendrier, pp.132-33.
 171. Cf. Graesse, op.cit., pp.259-64. Perdrizet-Calendrier, pp. 123-24.
 172. S. Bernardini Senensis, Opera Omnia (ed. pp. Collegii s. Bonaventurae) (Quaracchi/Florence) Vol.VIII (1963), p.241.
 173. For the importance of the pulpit in aiding the recognition of images, see G.R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England (Cambridge, 1933), pp.145-46 and passim.
 174. Cf. Kaftal-Tuscan, p.xx.
 175. H. Schauerte, Die Volkstümliche Heiligenverehrung (Münster-Westph., 1948), p.93. (This book is not always trustworthy.) Huizinga, op.cit., p.173 arrives at this kind of explanation in his account of the Fourteen Holy Helpers.
 176. Probably the most famous example for St.Francis is the one painted in the Upper Church of Assisi. With St.Dominic the pope may become Honorius III. Kaftal, St.Dominic, op.cit., pp.62-64, for instances.
 177. Cahier, op.cit., Vol.I, p.411.
 178. V. Natalini (ed.), S.Pietro Parenzo: la leggenda scritta dal Maestro Giovanni canonico di Orvieto (Lateranum n.s., n.2) (Rome, 1936), p.ix.
 179. Ibid., pp.118-20.
 180. Ibid., pp.120-21.
 181. E. Carpentier, Une ville devant la peste; Orvieto et la peste noire de 1348 (Paris, 1962), p.92 and footnote 90.
 182. Kaftal-Central, col.904 and fig.1076. This is the only image which Kaftal cites and there is no mention of St.Peter Parenzo in Kaftal-Tuscan. Natalini, op.cit., p.123 refers to a (later) image of the saint, painted by Signorelli in the Cappella Nuova of the Duomo of Orvieto.
 183. Cf. Kaftal-Tuscan, p.xxiii.
 184. Cf. VAUCHEZ, pp.189-90.
 185. A.G. Little (ed.), Franciscan History and Legend in English

Mediaeval Art (British Society of Franciscan Studies, Vol.XIX) (Manchester, 1937), p.30, 29.

186. Natalini, op.cit., pp.120-21.
187. VAUCHEZ, p.187ff.
188. Ibid., cf. pp.276-77.
189. Attwater, op.cit., p.260. Cf. Cross, op.cit., 'Rita of Cascia,' p.1167. Kaftal-Tuscan, cols.965-67 and figs.1138 and 1139. Note Kaftal-Tuscan, fig.620 for a representation of an earlier painted coffin lid depicting Bl.Joan of Signa.
190. See Little, op.cit., pp.7-10; 15-20; 24-27; 37ff.; 103; 112. (An index sanctorum would have improved the utility of this book.)
191. Leroquais, op.cit., Vol. of plates: pl.xvii.
192. Kaftal-Tuscan, fig.727.
193. Meiss, op.cit., p.100; see also pp.94-104 and fig.95.
194. Bascapè, op.cit., p.140.
195. On this point, note R.W. Southern, Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages (Pelican History of the Church, Vol.2) (Harmondsworth, 1970), p.104ff. Professor Southern cites M. Maccoarrone's Vicarius Christi (1952), which I have not read.
196. Kaftal, St.Catherine, op.cit., p.8.
197. Ibid., p.30 and fig.6 on p.31.
198. Ibid., p.8. Reference to documents in Kaftal-Tuscan, col.248, footnote 2.
199. Cf. Mâle-FIN, pp.167-84. Kaftal-Tuscan, pp.xxviii-xxix.
200. E. Staley, The Guilds of Florence (London, 1906), pp.528-31.
201. Réau, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.389; 429.
202. Schauerte, op.cit., p.112, with references.
203. Perdrizet-Calendrier, p.253. See also pp.252; 297.
204. Cf. DELARUELLE, p.791.
205. E.B. Garrison, Italian Romanesque Panel Painting; an Illustrated Index (Florence, 1949), p.76 item 167. From the size of the reproduction it is not possible to determine the identity of the second donor.
206. Cf. Cahier, op.cit., Vol.II, p.611 ftnt.4. E.G. Gardner, The Story of Florence (London, 1902), pp.302-10 for a guided tour of the premises.
207. P. Aries, Centuries of Childhood (transl.Baldick) (London, 1962), pp.347-48.
208. See P. Devos in AB, Vol.LXXI (1953), p.260.
209. Little, op.cit., p.29: the inscription was first cited by Wm.Parker, History of Long Melford (London, 1873), p.58. I regret that I am unable to consult Parker's text.

210. E. Ricci, La prima Chiesa dedicata a S. Elisabetta d'Ungheria (S. Maria degli Angeli, 1909), p.36.
211. Emphasis added.
212. Cited in and translated by R.C. Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience: the Sacred Image," Studies in the Renaissance, Vol. XIX (1972), pp.7-41: the passage appears on p.28 and footnote 66. Italian source: G. Folena (ed.), Motti e Facezie del Piovano Arlotto (Milan/Naples, 1953), p.185ff. I wish to thank Professor Hay for calling my attention to this interesting article.
213. Cf. Schauerte, op.cit., p.66: "In den Heiligen findet das Volk wirkliche 'Vorbilder' im etymologischen Sinne des Wortes (Vorbild = was als Bild vor uns hintritt, was man vor sich sieht)..." For the procession accompanying Duccio's altarpiece (1311), see E.G. Holt, A Documentary History of Art, Vol. I (Garden City, New York, 1957), pp.134-36. ~~The connection between images and processions will be stressed in the discussion of the Perugian gonfalone, infra.~~
214. G. Maillet, La vie religieuse au temps de saint Louis (Paris, 1954), p.155.
215. G.G. Coulton, Scottish Abbeys and Social Life (Cambridge, 1933), p.71. In times of drought, when prayers brought no relief, images of rainmaking saints like St. Medard were repeatedly drenched. (E. Mâle, The Gothic Image. Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century (transl. Nussey) (Harper paperback ed.) (New York, 1958), p.271.) Professor Hay recalls the similar happenings relating to the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius of Naples.
216. Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience," loc.cit., p.25.
217. Here of course see M. Bloch, Feudal Society (transl. Manyon) (Chicago, 1961), p.228.
218. F. Lanzoni, Genesi, svolgimento e tramonto delle Leggende Storiche (Studi e Testi, 43) (Rome, 1925), p.50.
219. Loomis, op.cit., pp.123-24. Hahnloser, loc.cit., pp.225-33.
220. P. Lauer (ed.), Robert de Clari, La Conquête de Constantinople (les classiques français du moyen âge) (Paris, 1956), p.83 and cf. p.108.
221. P.E.D. (Comte) Riant, "Les dépouilles religieuses enlevées à Constantinople au XIII^e siècle par les Latins," Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France, 4th series, Vol. VI (1875), pp.1-214; the catalogue itself occupies pp.177-211; the specific reference here is to p.210.
222. Ibid., p.196. His relics, evidently, were taken to Halberstadt.
223. Ibid., note pp. 178, 180, 184, 186, 196, 200, 202, 204, 210.
224. Cf. F. Polese, "Le Feste popolari cristiane in Italia," Atti del primo Congresso di Etnographia Italiana (Perugia, 1912), pp.91-114. "Le immagini venerate dal popolo sono in tutto o in parte acheropite; o non si conosce l'autore..." (p.97.)

- "The picture or letter dropped from heaven, the 'acheiropoietos' or picture not made by human hand, are by no means the invention of Christian narrators" but were "common ... conceptions... among the ancients." (H. Delehaye, The Legends of the Saints (transl. Crawford) (Notre Dame, Ind., 1961), p.33.)
225. See the review of F. de Mély, "L'image du Christ du Sancta Sanctorum et les reliques chrétiennes apportées par les flots," Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France, Vol.LXIII (1904) pp.1-32, in AB Vol.XXIV (1905), pp.388-90 (the reviewer is H. Delehaye).
 226. The rain-control function of this sacred image and its importance in the life of Florence is well brought out by Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience," loc.cit., pp.16-24. C. Dejob, La foi religieuse en Italie au quatorzième siècle (Paris, 1906), p.378, implies a connection with the plague.
 227. Maillet, op.cit., pp.188-89, with good bibliography on the problem.
 228. C. Gomez-Moreno, et al, "A Sienese St.Dominic modernized twice in the Thirteenth Century," Art Bulletin, Vol.LI (1969), p.363.
 229. Ibid.
 230. The preamble to the Company's statutes is cited by Calzolari, op.cit., p.73 where Gerard is referred to as "Messer S. Gherardo."
 231. Kaftal, St.Catherine, op.cit., p.22.
 232. Kaftal-Tuscan includes 340 saints, twenty-one of whom are listed as unidentified and one of these is a named saint about whom nothing is known. Kaftal-Central contains 436 saints with seventeen unknowns (six of these latter being named).
 233. Perdrizet-Calendrier, pp.253; 245-46.
 234. Cf. E. Gilliat-Smith, The Story of Bruges (London, 1921), pp. 385-86.
 235. BHL, Vol.II, p.1218. Perdrizet-Calendrier, pp.243-44.
 236. P. Alphanéry and A. Dupont, La Chrétienté et l'idée du croisade (Évolution de l'humanité), (Paris, 1959), Vol.II, pp. 137-41.
 237. For information concerning this legendary legion of crucified soldier-martyrs, see Perdrizet-Calendrier, p.279. Graesse, op.cit., p.858 (among the legends added to the original Legenda aurea). Also, Cross, op.cit., p.1330. See, for contemporary image, W.Cohn, Holz. Metallschnitte (P. Heitz, ed. Einblattdrucke des Funfzehnten Jahrhunderts, Vol.86) (Strasbourg, 1935), Cut number 3.
 238. Cf. Huizinga, op.cit., p.171ff.
 239. For full bibliography and a lucid exposition of the cult, see P. Grosjean, "Les vingt-quatre vieillards de l'Apocalypse à propos d'une liste galloise," AB, Vol.LXXII (1954), pp.192-212. Durandus mentions them: Symbolism, op.cit., pp.44-45; Prochiron, op.cit., p.13.

240. Grosjean, loc.cit., pp.200-04.
241. Cf. Mâle-FIN, p.194: "On jugeait qu'en groupe ils avaient plus de puissance auprès de Dieu."
242. Review by F. Halkin of V. Leroquais, Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1927), 2 Vols., in AB, Vol.XLVI (1928), p.217.
243. Schauerte, op.cit., pp.84-85.
244. Rapp, op.cit., p.151.
245. Schauerte, op.cit., pp.85-88 cites his authorities here. A fine, brief article, with full bibliography, is provided by H. Paulus, "Nothelfer," Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart (Tübingen, 1960), Vol.IV, cols.1531-32. Huizinga, op.cit., p.173, attempts to explain the grouping by singling out the striking iconographic attributes of many of the Fourteen Helpers: I fail to see how this could have led to a common bond of association. Cf. Schreiber, "Privilegia sanctorum," loc.cit., pp.333-34.
246. This is a major weakness of the otherwise illuminating discussion in Cahier, op.cit., Vol.I and II, passim, who begins with paired saints and continues with threes, fours, etc. considering ever larger assemblies and the logic behind the grouping of the various saints.
247. D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses (England and Wales) (London, 1953), p.217.
248. Little, op.cit., pl.viii; discussion, pp.19-20.
249. Facts to this point from R. Mosti, "Tradizione e iconografia di S. Bernardino da Siena a Tivoli," Atti e Memorie della Società Tiburtina di Storia e d'Arte, Vol. XXXIX (1966), pp.219-33 and fig.3; especially pp.230-33. The interpretation which follows is my own. I would disagree with Mosti (p.233), who holds that S.Bernardino is localized more than any of the other saints.
250. English translation from Coulton's Francis to Dante, op.cit., p.307, slightly modified.
251. O. Holder-Egger (ed.), Cronica Fratris Salimbene de Adam, Mon. Germ. Hist., S.S., Vol.XXXII (Hanover/Leipzig, 1905-13), p.502. Salimbene's text seems to imply that these events are taking place in Parma. But cf. p.502 fnt.1: "De reliquiis in ecclesia S.Petri Parmensi cultis Ann. Parm. l.l. nihil tradunt. Sed forte Sal. haec dixit de ecclesia S.Petri Cremonensi, in qua Albertus sepultus est." The passage cited from Salimbene makes more sense if we think of the parish clergy of Cremona, where Albert, according to Attwater, op.cit., p.9, lived during his later years, spreading the cult locally.
252. Cf. Kaftal-Tuscan, pp.xxviii-ix. Also, Mâle, Gothic, op.cit., p.292.
253. E. Delaruelle, "La spiritualité aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles," Cahiers d'histoire mondiale, Vol.V (1959), no.1, pp.59-70; quotation from p.69.

254. See M. Andrieu, "Aux origines du culte du Saint-Sacrement: reliquaires et monstrances eucharistiques," AB, Vol.LXVIII (1950), pp.397-418.
255. Ibid. And A.D. Mayer, "Die heilbringende Schau in Sitte und Kult," Heilige Ueberlieferung (Festgabe I. Herwegen) (Münster, 1938), pp.234-62; on the Eucharist, pp.255-60.
256. V.L. Kennedy, "The Moment of Consecration and the Elevation of the Host," Mediaeval Studies, Vol.VI (1944), pp.121-50, provides a good analysis of the topic and refers to other writers.
257. A recent study is by C.N.L. Brooks, "Religious Sentiment and Church Design in the Later Middle Ages," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Vol.L (1967-68), pp.13-33.
258. P. Browe, Die Eucharistischen Wunder des Mittelalters (Breslauer Studien zu Hist. Theol., n. f., IV) (Breslau, 1938) is the standard work on the subject.
259. On St. Veronica: Perdrizet-Calendrier, pp.102-03 and passim. Also Cross, op.cit., p.1414, who shows that the relationship between the relic and the saint is more complicated than one or two sentences could suggest. Yet it seems indisputable that the cult of the relic anteceded and gave rise to the cult of this saint. On St. Longinus, Cross, op.cit., p.820 and Mrs. Jameson, The History of Our Lord (new ed.), (London, 1892), Vol.II, pp.160-61.
- 259a. Concerning another famous Christocentric image-relic, see H. Verbist, "Où en est le problème du Suaire de Turin?" Miscellanea Historica in honorem A. de Meyer (Leuven/Brussels, 1946) pp.710-21.
260. Cf. Réau, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.419-26.
261. Kaftal-Tuscan, p.xx.
262. R.L.P. Milburn, Saints and their Emblems in English Churches (Oxford, 1957), p.xxxvi. As Mâle, Gothic Image, p.281, ftnt.2, points out, most of the thirteenth century French cathedral stained-glass pre-dates the Legenda aurea; but the same stories were contained in other collections, and in the lectionaries. It is interesting that the growth of an iconographic language, of conventional attributes for the pagan gods took place slightly later, probably during the first half of the fourteenth century. (See Seznek, op.cit., p.179)
263. Réau, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.389-90; 420. Mâle, Gothic Image, p.294.
264. Cited in Owst, op.cit., p.139 and ftnt.3. Cf. Manning, op.cit., pp.97-98.
265. From a Lollard sermon; in Owst, supra, pp.143-44.
266. Ibid., pp.144-45.
267. Ibid., p.141 and p.145.
268. A.C. Flick, The Decline of the Medieval Church (London, 1930), Vol.I, p.362.

269. N. Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millenium (2nd ed.) (New York, 1961), p.223.
270. Owst, op.cit., p.141.
271. See Huizinga, op.cit., pp.175-76; Flick, op.cit., Vol.II, p. 235; DELARUELLE, p.824. Cf. Manning, op.cit., pp.97-99.
272. Mayer, "Die heilbringende Schau," loc.cit., pp.251-52.
273. F. Sacchetti, Opere (ed. A. Chiari) (Scrittori d'Italia, n. 166), Vol.II, letter xi, pp.99-104; the passage quoted, pp. 99 (ll. 30-34) -100 (ll. 1-3). I wish to thank Dr.A.M. Freedman for helping to clarify Sacchetti's Italian. From this passage, it is evidently not certain whether Sacchetti means official or popular canonization.
274. Ibid., p.100 (ll.6; 12-15).
275. Ibid., p.100 (ll.17-21; 24-27).
276. Ibid., p.100 (ll.27-34).
277. Ibid., p.101 (ll.1-6).
278. Ibid., p.101 (ll.7-10).
279. Ibid., p.101 (ll.10-14; 23-27; 28-36) and p.102 (ll.1-2; 25-26). Suggestion of B.Pucci comes from Coulton, Francis to Dante, op.cit., p.310. Cf. Attwater, op.cit., p.38.
280. See M.C. de Ganay, Bienheureuses dominicaines (Paris, 1924), pp.145-51.
281. Q.v. Attwater, Calzolari, op.cit.; Bibliotheca Sanctorum.
282. According to H. Delehaye, et al (ed.), Propylaeum (ad Acta Sanctorum) Decembris (Brussels, 1940), p.593, xiv kal. jan. (Dec. 19), the attempted canonization was instituted by the antipope Clement VII (1378-94), but the disorder to Christendom brought about by the Schism interrupted the proceedings. (Was the canonization an effort by Clement to hallow his line by creating a sainted 'Avignon' pope?)
283. Kaftal-Tuscan, no.303, cols.993-94; no.132, cols.447-49; no. 145, cols.487-88. Kaftal does not mention an image of Bl. Joan of Florence (no.160, cols.537-38) which depicts her with the jar of oil as Sacchetti describes her. For San Barduccio, who does not appear in Kaftal, see Calzolari, op.cit., pp.74-75.
284. Kaftal-Tuscan, pp.xxx-xxxi; for the fifteenth century, p.xxxiff.
285. Durandus, Symbolism, op.cit., pp.48-51.
286. Holder-Egger, op.cit., p.502.
287. Kemp regards it in this light: "The distinction between beatification and canonization has now been clearly made..." (E.W. Kemp, "Pope Alexander and the Canonization of Saints," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (4th series), Vol. XXVII (1945), p.25.) Nevertheless, in his Canonization and Authority in the Western Church, Kemp says of the writers from the mid-thirteenth to the mid-fifteenth centuries: they "do not make the modern distinction between beatification and

- canonization" (p.115). Although the popes tacitly acted upon a theory of limited veneration for the beatus, "the canonists themselves do not seem to know any word corresponding to beatification. At this time sanctus and beatus are interchangeable terms," (p.115). Now Kemp does not seem to know about Sacchetti and cites Troilus Malvetius (f.1457-87) as the "earliest person, so far discovered, to distinguish between the terms beatus and sanctus," if in an egocentric way; Malvetius, however, makes beati wear rays in images (p.136).
288. Kaftal-Tuscan, p.xxx.
289. KEMP, p.107.
290. Sacchetti, op.cit., p.103 (1.8). One must remember that at the time of Sacchetti's letter the Great Schism made things more complicated than usual. For a general discussion of some of the problems raised above, see VAUCHEZ, pp.282-86.
291. Cf. Lambertini, op.cit., Vol.I, p.44.
292. Folena, op.cit., no.130, pp.186-87.
293. Kaftal-Tuscan, fig.682; also cols.593-601. On this artist, Meiss, op.cit., p.66 and passim.
294. In general see M. Collinet-Guérin, Histoire du nimbe des origines aux temps modernes (Paris, 1961) (This work is not as helpful as one might wish.) Also, Delehaye, Sanctus, op.cit., p.160.
295. J.I. Sewall, A History of Western Art (New York, 1953), figs. 9.16-17; cf. pp.266-67.
296. Durandus, Symbolism, op.cit., p.50. The Latin text reads: Sic et omnes Sancti pinguntur coronati, quasi dicat: 'Filiae Hierusalem, venite, et videte martyres cum coronis aureis, quibus coronavit eos Dominus.' Et in Libro Sapientiae: 'Justi accipient Regnum decoris, et diadema speciei de manu Domini.' Corona autem hujusmodi depingitur in forma scuti rotundi, quia Sancti Dei protectione divina fruuntur. Unde cantant gratulandi: 'Domine, ut scuto bonae voluntatis coronasti nos.' (Idem., Prochiron, op.cit., p.14)
297. Réau, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.424-25.
298. I intend to consider this theme in a short paper, "Notes on the Origins of 'Pathetic' Christianity." Cf. Réau, supra, p.431.
299. Q.v. Enciclopedia Cattolica (ed. P. Paschini et al) (1949-54), Vol.X, col.1550.
300. Mâle-Fin, pp.159-62.
301. Réau, op.cit., Vol.I, p.420.
302. Cf. Huizinga, op.cit., pp.166-67 and following him, but even more strongly, VAUCHEZ, pp.286; 291-92.
- 302a. See H. Woodruff, The Index of Christian Art at Princeton University (Princeton, 1942); citation from the Forward by C.R. Morey, p.vii.
303. Garrison, op.cit., p.1.

304. Ibid., p.3.
- 304a. P. Kristeller, Early Florentine Woodcuts (London, 1897).
305. P.O. Kristeller, "Lay Religious Traditions and Florentine Platonism," Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters (Rome, 1956), p.102.
- 305a. P. Heitz (ed.), Einblattdrucke des Fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts (Strasbourg, 1899ff.), 100 Vols.
306. S. Beissel, Die Verehrung der Heiligen und ihrer Reliquien in Deutschland in der zweiten Hälfte des Mittelalters (Ergänzungshefte z. der Stimmen aus Maria Laach, 54) (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1892), p.67.
307. Cf. A. Franz, Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909), 2 Vols.
- 307a. C.H. Turner, "The Nomina sacra in early Latin Christian MSS," Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle (Rome, 1924), Vol.IV, pp.62-74.
308. See the many examples of commercial documents (in translation) in R.S. Lopez and I.W. Raymond, Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World (New York, 1955).
309. Origo, op.cit., pp.13; 137 ftnt.1; see also pp.71; 114.
310. Suggested by VAUCHEZ, p.293 and G. Van der Leeuw, Religion in Essence and Manifestation (transl. Turner) (2nd ed.) (London, 1964), Chapter 7 and passim.
311. Manning, op.cit., p.110, ftnt.5.
312. L. Zdekauer and P. Sella (eds.), Statuti di Ascoli Piceno dell'anno MCCCLXXVII (Istituto storico italiano: Fonti per la storia d'Italia) (Rome, 1910), pp.87-88.
313. Kalužniacki, "Ueber Wesen und Bedeutung der Volksetymologischen Attribute christlicher Heiliger," V. Jagic-Festeschrift (Berlin, 1908), pp.504-26.
314. Ibid., pp. 504-5; 508.
315. Ibid., p.511.
316. Cahier, op.cit., Vol.II, p.634 ftnt.5.
317. Kalužniacki, loc.cit., p.518.
- 318* 319. Ibid.
320. Delehaye, Cinq Leçons, p.16 on the more 'modern' namesake displacing the original church patron.
321. A.G. Jongkees, "Translatio studii: les avatars d'un thème médiéval," Miscellanea Mediaevalia in memoriam J.F. Niermeyer (Groningen, 1967), p.49.
322. Historia calamitatum (transl. Bellows): The Story of My Misfortunes (Glencoe, Ill., 1958), Chap.X, pp.47-49.
323. Schauerte, op.cit., p.84.
324. Ibid., p.120 ftnt.10.
325. Cahier, op.cit., Vol.II, p.613, ftnts.3,6.

*318. Review by P. Grosjean of C. Woodforde, Stained Glass in Somerset, 1250-1830 (London, 1946) in AB, Vol. LXIX (1951), p.182

326. See Meiss, op.cit., pp.107-13.
327. M. Davies, Earlier Italian Schools (National Gallery Catalogues) (2nd ed.) (London, 1961), pp.78-79 (no.298).
328. P. Aebischer, "A travers l'anthroponymie du haut moyen âge," Atti e memorie del VII Congresso internazionale di scienze onomastiche, (Florence, 1963), Vol.III, pp.5-26; citation from p.7.
329. Leroquais, op.cit., Vol.III, p.219.
330. I. Ragusa (ed./transl.), Meditations on the Life of Christ (Princeton, 1961), pp.1-2; cf. fig.1, described p.403.
331. F.X. Murphy, "Names, Christian," New Catholic Encyclopedia, (New York, 1967) Vol.X, p.203.
332. Bascapè, op.cit., p.109 and ftnt.15.
333. Ibid., pp.114-15. Cf. Attwater, op.cit., p.136.
334. Supra, pp.35-36.
335. Mâle-Fin, p.161.
336. G. Brucker (ed.), Two Memoirs of Renaissance Florence: the Diaries of Buonaccorso Pitti and Gregorio Dati (transl. Martines) (Harper paperback ed.) (New York, 1967). One of the girls whom Dati had by his third wife Ginevra is not mentioned by name (see p.134 and cf. pp.126-28; 132); presumably, she died unbaptised like the first child of his fourth wife Caterina, also cited as un-named, (p.135).
337. Ibid., p.133.
338. Ricordanze such as Dati's are particularly plentiful in Florence. Of great potential value for the anthroponymy of the family, these memoirs should make it possible to examine naming-patterns in comparative terms, taking into account both the relative social status and piety of the various families whose lives and fortunes have been chronicled. Further information on these memoirs in Brucker's introduction, pp.9-12 and footnotes. Also cf. C. Bec, Les marchands écrivains à Florence, 1375-1436 (Paris/The Hague, 1967).
339. Translated from the Greek, this passage may be found in W. Smith and S. Cheetam, A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities (London, 1880), Vol.II, p.1368, s.v. "Names".
340. Ibid., Cf. Aebischer, "l'anthroponymie du haut m.s.," loc.cit., p.6 and ftnt.4. Also, P. Meertens, "L'importance de l'anthroponymie pour l'histoire ecclésiastique," Troisième congrès international de toponymie et d'anthroponymie (Louvain, 1951), Vol.III, p.716.
341. Review by M.Coens of W.Durig, Geburtstag und Namenstag (Munich, 1954), in AB, Vol.LXXV (1957), p.231.
342. B. de Gaiffier summarizing the conclusions of A. Griera in AB, Vol.LXXVIII (1960), p.449.
343. Réau, op.cit., Vol.I, p.367, drawing upon A. Dauzat, Les noms de personnes (Paris, 1925). Cf. Mâle, Gothic, op.cit., p.323, ftnt.1 suggests a greater impact of the tie between saint and namesake in a later period.
344. Beissel, op.cit., p.68.

345. M. Coens reviewing a study by H. Metzger in AB, Vol.XXXIX (1921), p.225.
346. Meertens, "L'importance de l'anthroponymie," loc.cit., p.718.
347. From a review by G. Philippart of M.T. Carli, Carte dell'archivio capitolare di Pisa (Rome, 1969), Vol.IV, in AB, Vol.XC (1972), p.224.
348. O. Brattö, Studi di anthroponimia fiorentina. Il libro di Montaperti (An.MCCLX) (Göteborg, 1953), pp.24-25; 58-59; 27.
349. B.Z. Kedar, "Noms de saints et mentalité populaire à Gênes au XIV^e siècle," Le Moyen Age, Vol.LXXIII (1967), pp.431-47.
350. Beissel, op.cit., p.68.
- 350a. Moeller, loc.cit., p.19.
351. Meertens, loc.cit., pp.716-17.
352. Brattö, op.cit., p.60.
353. J. Heers, L'Occident aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles (Nouvelle Clio, no.23) (Paris, 1963), pp.326-29. Heers, following the pioneering counsels of Marc Bloch, has appreciated the value of such studies for the historian of religious sentiments.
354. Cf. Aebischer, loc.cit., p.6.
355. See the unpublished thesis of J. Roussey, Les prénoms dans quelques villes d'Italie... (Alger, 1961) cited by Heers, op.cit., p.327 and fnnt.3.
356. Ibid.
357. One should note, however, the re-emergence of classical names in the wake of the Renaissance (ibid., p.327) and the Reformation's renewal of Biblical names (Meertens, loc.cit., pp. 718-19).
358. Cf. Smith and Cheetham, op.cit., Vol.II, p.1368.
359. Schauerte, op.cit., pp.106-07.
360. Meertens, loc.cit., p.718.
361. Bec, op.cit., p.151ff. According to Mlle. Bec, this work is a laudatio.
362. See the review of Bruiningk's essay in AB, Vol.XXIII (1904), p.334 by the Bollandist A. Poncelet.
363. Kedar, loc.cit., pp.436-37 with references.
364. An impression based upon Tables A-D and upon the studies cited supra.
365. R. Naz, op.cit., Vol.II, col.154 (Paris, 1937). Cf. Cross, op.cit., pp.809-10.
366. Naz, op.cit., Vol.II, col.154.
367. Ibid.
- 367a. A discussion of the multiplication of baptismal churches in later medieval Italy will be found in Professor Hay's as yet unpublished Birbeck Lectures.

368. Cf. the remarks of Schauerte, op.cit., pp.107-08, who also believes that a personal intercessor becomes more often chosen in the closing centuries of the Middle Ages. If this is so, it certainly corresponds with the anthroponymic evidence.
369. Rapp, op.cit., p.306 stresses the rôle of sermons in praise of the saints. Naturally, the ultimate source of these sermons is hagiography, the vitae and miraculae of the saints.
370. Cf. Coens citing Metzger, loc.cit., p.225.

Chapter II.

MANIFESTATIONS OF THE CULT OF SAINTS IN
THE LATER MIDDLE AGES (2):Holidays, Shrines, Relics.

Through their well-publicized miracles, the near ubiquity of their images, and the growing donation of their names at baptism, the saints and their cult touched the lives of ordinary Christians in the later Middle Ages. The veneration of saints was so firmly established, so intermixed with religious and social assumptions and, perhaps most important of all, patterns of behavior, that wholesale condemnation, except by heretical sects, was hardly likely. Certainly in the area of shared observances, of normative religious behavior, popular acceptance of the cult of saints cannot be doubted. Whatever the elusive concept of 'popular religion' may be taken to mean, the cult of saints must figure in any adequate definition of it. The remarks of H.G.J. Beck concerning the cult of saints in sixth century southeastern France apply equally to Latin Christendom in the declining medieval centuries: "Herein popular devotion and official religion met upon common ground. That this cult was popular will scarcely be denied; that it was official appears from a number of considerations."¹

Perhaps scholars ought to pay more attention to the practice of medieval Christianity and especially to those rituals and observances in which the attitudes of the laity customarily found expression. Iris Origo, looking closely and thoughtfully at the religion of Francesco Datini, decides that just as custom and usage held sway in the secular world, so "devotional life rested upon a series of unquestioned, familiar acts" and that "an intricate

framework of pious observance" regulated the lives of even the most astute and realistic of businessmen.² Precisely these religious acts, their enumeration, description, classification, and the historical changes which they undergo, should, one would imagine, serve as the logical starting point for any fundamental study of medieval popular Christianity.

Indeed, it is the consensus of scholarly opinion that during the later Middle Ages these popular religious acts and observances multiplied enormously.³ Consequently, a kind of luxuriance or proliferation of religious practice seems to characterize the period. In part this is due to innovation in devotional techniques, to new cults, and to new saints. But also the accumulated customs of a long tradition continued, on the whole, to command assent and govern action. Criticism was not lacking. As was brought out in an earlier discussion of miracles and images, there were calls for reform, stricter controls, and methods to protect the faithful from unauthorized novelties in religious life. Hopefully, in this chapter both the fact of proliferation and the call for retrenchment will be amply illustrated. Moreover, within the broad categories of time (holidays), place (shrines), and object (relics), it is also intended that the cult of saints will be shown to occupy exactly that unenclosed common ground of religious behavior which is or should be the peculiar terrain of popular Christianity.

Manifestations of Cult: Holidays

Judaism began the process of turning seasonal or nature festivals into historical commemorations, which recalled and celebrated

divine intervention in human affairs.⁴ Christianity, for whom the Incarnation replaced the Exodus as the most significant divine action in history, continued to perceive historical events as evidence of God's providence.⁵ Those who wrote providential history would naturally make the saints the first citizens of the heavenly city. Thus the writer of some early fourteenth century sermons argues that God punished the realm of England for the murder of St. Thomas Becket, although His retribution was deferred until the time of John Lackland.⁶ With the diffusion of dating events by annus Domini, which the Venerable Bede's work encouraged, chronology itself was Christianized even if other modes of reckoning, as by regnal dates, certainly persisted.

But in the Middle Ages the chief events of sacred history did not remain the special preserve of scholars. Time was liturgized. By an annual cycle of commemorations, certain significant acts in the careers of Jesus and Mary, both in their life-times and posthumously, were solemnly celebrated, liturgically re-enacted. For the numerous martyrs and confessors of the Church, there were also days marking the anniversary of extraordinary events in their lives (e.g. the conversio sancti pauli), or more usually their death (dies natalis: that is, the celestial birthdate), funeral (depositio); plus the discovery (inventio), transferal (translatio), and placement of their relics upon the altars (elevatio).⁷

Now it would be mistaken to see the Medieval Christian liturgical year as simply a faithful mirror of sacred history. For one thing, theological ideas of a non-historical character stood behind

many feasts (Corpus Christi, All Saints', All Souls' are instances), and, for another, the annual series of saints' days were distributed throughout the year without reference to any chronological or geographical order. "Without any transition whatsoever the calendar moves from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, and from the Orient to the Occident."⁸ This liturgical immediacy of all times and all places must have contributed to the two dimensional time sense and penchant for what we would call anachronism in the medieval view of the past. Furthermore, the rhythm of the seasons, the basic motion of an agrarian society, could not be altered. Nature was too powerful to be transformed into history. The feasts of the saints were indeed used to initiate the seasons of the year — spring (22 February) and the feast of St. Peter's Chair; summer (25 May) and St. Urban; autumn (24 August) and St. Bartholomew; winter (23 November) and St. Clement⁹ — but the use of these saints' days actually demonstrates how easily the agricultural year could absorb supposedly historical holidays, and convert them into punctuation marks for the seasons. Medieval peasants whose rents or duties coincided with a particular saint's feast,¹⁰ doubtless would remember that saint, but might be expected to assimilate him along with his patronage speciality and his cult, into their own world rather than to enter imaginatively into his.

Just as the agricultural year was only partially submerged in the annual liturgical cycle, so secular history was able to fix its commemorations within the ecclesiastical calendar, by tying them to the coat-tails of a Christian saint. Especially in the later medieval Italian city-states, events of civic importance —

changes of regime, military victories, annexations and the like ~~and~~ were annually celebrated on the saint's day on which they had occurred. This development will have to be looked at in greater detail later on, for it is obvious that it has significance for the cult of saints. For the present, it is enough to point out that this indirect way of introducing secular history into the Christian calendar gradually tended, at least in the Italian towns, to create an annual round of commemorations with a strongly civic flavor, which threatened to engulf the past of the universal Church in a flood of local patriotism.

However, it would be an exaggeration to say that either the agricultural year or the disguised celebrations of secular history undermined the peculiarly Christian elements of the liturgical cycle. Undeniably the liturgical year had an emotional rhythm of fasting and penitence, hope and expectation^{at}, pathos, joy, and triumph,¹¹ which corresponded to the moods evoked by the major Christian feasts. Perhaps more fundamental still was the sense that not all times were the same; the consciousness of discontinuity between ordinary times and certain hallowed or potent intervals,¹² days especially, but also years. This general attitude towards time has been called temporal formalism.¹³

The duration of service required by certain religious movements plainly had symbolic meaning. Froissart tells us that the Flagellants of 1349 participated in their penance for thirty-three and a half days in harmony with "the thirty-three and a half years which Jesus Christ spent on earth."¹⁴ The very origins of such

movements have been traced by some writers to years of symbolic potency. If the legend of the 'panics of the year 1000' has been discredited,¹⁵ it remains true nonetheless that the chronicler Ralph Glaber discusses the Peace of God movement conjointly with the millennial anniversary of Christ's Passion, 1033, a year which he sees as bringing in a new time of peace and relative prosperity.¹⁶ Popular movements evidently found certain years especially auspicious. In both 1299 and 1399 religious currents, apparently spontaneous, set groups of people in motion. In the former case, popular devotion received papal endorsement in the first of a long line of anni santi, the Jubilee of 1300.¹⁷ The second medieval fin de siècle movement, that of the Bianchi, attracted wide support and resulted in much peace-making in the Italian cities.¹⁸ A few scholars have seen a Joachimite mystic year behind the Flagellant movement of 1260.¹⁹

Years counted, therefore, but "in popular medieval thought the day was by far the most important unit of time."²⁰ The dies mali sive Aegyptiaci were days which, it was supposed, the ancient Egyptians had by their astrological calculations found to be unlucky. Canon law might condemn the idea that activities undertaken on them were bound to end in misfortune,²¹ but many medieval calendars duly noted the Egyptian days in a line of latin verse at the top of the monthly page.²² In a Cluniac calendar from the early fourteenth century, the first and the twenty-fifth of January are thus signalled out for avoidance: Iani prima dies, et septima fine timetur.²³ Sunday, on the other ^{hand} day, was considered "a privileged day" because on it the work of creation had commenced and on it

Jesus had been born, baptized, and resurrected.²⁴ Although Friday had its associations with the Passion and Saturday its links with Mary,²⁵ the Solis dies of antiquity which had become the Christian dies Dominica,²⁶ the Lord's Day, was esteemed above all others of the week. Fourteenth century English writers called every festival a holy day, but in the strict sense holy-day meant Sunday,²⁷ for even the Pope could not shift Sunday observance; hence 'Of all the feasts that in holy church are, / Holy Sunday men ought to spare.'²⁸ Because men did not spare it, and violated its specified work prohibitions, more serious measures than denunciations from the pulpit or occasional cash fines were necessary in order to reform conduct.

A literature aiming to enforce Sunday observance by threatening divine chastisement has its origins in the Christian East of the fifth century.²⁹ The most sensational form which these threats of God's wrath assumed was the famous letter fallen from the sky in which Christ usually warns that unless men hold His day inviolate the world's speedy destruction is assured. This dire warning, the first traces of which have been found in the sixth century, had a very distinguished medieval career. The fact that the promise of doom might remain constant while its justification could easily be modified to suit prevailing circumstances helps to account for the letter's utility. Nevertheless, the subject of the letter remained linked to Sunday violations.³⁰ As one might expect from the religious aura of Sunday, the evidence suggests that miracles at shrines recurred (or were reported) more frequently than on the profane days of the week.³¹

Thus the saints manifested their presence and their power on their feast days by aiding their friends and afflicting their enemies. Towards the middle of the twelfth century, the monk Ranier of Saint-Laurent narrated the story of the recapture of a castle which had been usurped from the church of Liège. The Bishop laid siege to the fortress, but no progress was made until the relics of St. Lambert (d. c.700), patron of the church, were brought into the camp of the besieging army and installed ceremonially in their midst. The relics inspired the bishop's forces with renewed zeal, although the castle proved impregnable. Finally, on 17 September 1141, St. Lambert's day, the power of the saint was irresistible, and the castle was taken.³² This display of positive assistance by St. Lambert on his feast day, may be contrasted with the equal readiness of saints to punish holiday violators severely. The fact that punitive miracles of this kind so commonly appear in medieval hagiography shows, however, that the threat of the saint's wrath did not always guarantee the pious observance of his day by all the faithful.³³ For the devout, the potent association between the saint and his day needed no miraculous reminders. In a chapter of her Revelations entitled "whoso honors the saints is honored in return by the saints who comfort them in death," the thirteenth century visionary Mechthild of Magdeburg explains

That we honor the saints of happy memory with all devout intentions we may have for them on the day God honored them by a holy end [emphasis added: she is referring to the saint's day as dies natalis]- that gives them such a joy that they often appear to us now with all the sovereignty they have won by their merit. I saw this clearly on the day of St. Mary Magdalene when we honored God with hymns of praise because of the great reward she had received

from him. She floated down into the choir after the hymns and looked into the eyes of every singer and said, 'All those who honor my end, to their end will I come and honor them in return.'....³⁴

What a mystic might see, an ordinary believer might sense: that on his holiday the saint indeed drew near to those who venerated him. Hence the importance of celebrating the saint's feast on the correct day, according to the liturgical calendar.

Because the commemorative occasion was inseparable from the personality of the saint whose day it was, anything memorable which happened on that day was naturally assigned to the glory of its saint. Thus the church calendar was a rich source of place names for the Portuguese and Spanish explorers of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; in fact their voyages of discovery may almost be plotted by the saints whose names were generously bestowed upon landfalls in the New World.³⁵ In a parallel fashion, saints' days frequently came to be used on medieval documents as a means of expressing the date.³⁶ Dating by saints' days could be pushed quite far, as, for example, when Matthew Paris in his Chronica majora locates certain events 'in the octaves of the translation of St. Benedict.'³⁷ In England this means of dating, which was found to be convenient for fixing rent payments, did not usually appear on documents until about the thirteenth century.⁴⁰ In Germany, although the practice is already encountered in tenth century deeds and charters, it is only by the fourteenth century that the old Roman method of designating the days is supplanted by the saint's feasts.³⁹

For the diocese of Cologne, the later twelfth century sees the sparing use of Christian feasts, occasionally in conjunction with the Roman method, as on a charter which we would date 13 May 1173: 'III. Idus Mai, die dominica in die Servatii et in dedicatione ipsius ecclesiae.'⁴⁰ Promoted by the monasteries, the practice of festal dating grows in the course of the thirteenth century despite a number of inherent disadvantages, such as its novelty and its ambiguity. The Roman method was not only more customary, it was also less ambiguous. Local saints might not be known outside their restricted area of veneration; and, to make matters more complicated still, several saints could be venerated on the same day. Finally, some of the major feasts of the Christian year (not saints' days of course) were moveable ones.⁴¹ Yet, with ecclesiastical backing, and through its greater popularity, dating by the saints prevailed in all but notarial instruments in the Cologne diocese. That this method was more popular is proved by the arrival of vernacular charters in fourteenth century Cologne. Here the predominance of festal dating was complete,⁴⁴ and here, therefore, we may point to new evidence of the impact of the ecclesiastical calendar, and with it, obviously, to the impact of the cult of saints upon the laity.

As one might expect, however, the influence of the medieval ecclesiastical calendar was not confined to the dating of charters. The church calendar is one of the most significant documents in hagiography, providing, if suitably corroborated by other evidence, a whole roster of saints enjoying liturgical veneration in a particular church. For a long time, scientific hagiographers

like the Bollandists have taught that the verification of a saint's cult depends to a great extent upon finding that saint's feast placed upon a local calendar.⁴³ Yet calendars, for all their immense utility,⁴⁴ must be used with caution. Calendars could create saints as well as record their veneration. More than a few times, a scribe's misreading of a calendar date has led to doubling, the creation of two homonymous saints, each of course requiring a legenda, where originally (and historically) there was but one.⁴⁵ Transcription errors were always capable of generating new saints, as when the martyr Romanus (18 November) was metamorphosed into Roman the bishop (19 November).⁴⁶ Scribes, evidently, not only fell into error but also occasionally followed their own hagiographic proclivities, including some saints according to their whim and possibly excluding others through carelessness. Hence it is imprudent to take any one isolated calendar as an infallible guide to actual liturgical practice.⁴⁷ Moreover, some scribes appeared to dislike blank spaces or days without saints to fill them. Borrowing not simply from other calendars but from purely literary sources, these scribes provided the signs of an on-going cult to saints whose cult must have remained, in most instances, artificial.⁴⁸

The so-called historical martyrologies with their lists of saints following the order of the calendar but containing a biographical resumé in addition to the usual calendar details of date, name and perhaps type of saint, and place of death — may have been plundered in a scribe's quest for exotic saints.⁴⁹ For example, the calendarium Gundecarianum (c. 1057-1075) from Eichstätt (Bavaria)⁵⁰ is suspiciously full. Apparently there are no days without a feast and many days with multiple commemorations. Also there are a large

number of Old Testament prophets entered; e.g. Daniel (21 July), Samuel (20 August), and Moses (4 September) — normally (with rare exceptions like Venice) this is a good clue to non-liturgical, merely literary cultus, and doubtless to the influence of a martyrology.

Later medieval calendars written for liturgical purposes (this qualification must be emphasized for there were other kinds) give a general impression of having thrown off most, if not all, of this literary freightage, of presenting a definitely practical and utilitarian face.⁵¹ But of course any such impression must be qualified in the absence of a complete corpus of medieval calendars, which is a desideratum. No doubt numerous calendars left to unsupervised scribal discretion would still exhibit idiosyncratic features quite possibly of a literary cast.

Of great value despite occasional eccentricities and errors, medieval ecclesiastical calendars display their character in their appearance. To examine any MS. liturgical calendar is to realize that it was plainly an active instrument, designed for work and kept in readiness for consultation. Whether found in breviaries, psalters, diurnals, sacramentaries, or missals,⁵² the calendar was normally that part of a MS. to which reference was most often made; hence it is the part most likely to show signs of wear and tear, from worn edges to missing leaves.⁵³ Frequent erasures; a large number of insertions in hands contemporary with or much later than the original script; additions and adaptations to meet new cults and new owners, for calendars sometimes travelled along with a liturgical book and were modified rather than replaced — all this

is physical evidence of an evolving, serviceable document.⁵⁴ Possibly for as long as a couple of centuries after their composition, liturgical calendars had to be kept up to date. Piecemeal changes might indeed have continued until so many corrections made necessary a new, revised version.⁵⁷ Calendars are thus an indispensable item in the archaeology of Christian spirituality, containing in layer after hagiographic layer the feasts of saints added during many different epochs.

Let us look at some reasons for changes and variations within and among the considerable number of medieval calendars. First, there was a need to respond to changes in the cult of saints. Here simply the pattern needs to be indicated. Obscure saints whose veneration had lapsed tended to be dropped;⁵⁶ they were the victims of erasure or non-inclusion in a new and revised calendar. This phenomenon perhaps should be underscored. The success of some cults cast others in the shade, and scholars have usually paid more attention to the victors than to their defeated rivals. Also, some feasts, previously honored with elaborate ceremony, were relegated to secondary status, eclipsed by more popular festivals.⁵⁷ The calendar documents changes in medieval religious tastes.

Newly canonized saints or newly venerated local beati might be received into a particular calendar; this could create scheduling problems leading to displacements. Interference with established holidays explains why new saints were sometimes commemorated on days other than their death date. Deposition, translation, even ordination anniversaries could be chosen as feast days, and failing

any other solution, an arbitrary date might be selected.⁵⁸ Yet displacements of new or old feasts were unnecessary when an event could be planned so that its annual commemoration would occur at a desirable time. Translations of relics permitted such long-range calculation. Since churchmen sought to attract as many pilgrims as possible to their saint's shrine, a sensible arrangement would be to distribute a major saint's feasts throughout the year, insuring in this way that the summer months, when better attendance could be expected, were not disregarded. So if the dies natalis of a great saint came in the winter (e.g. St.Martin: 11 November; St. Thomas Becket: 29 December), the translation feast, which could be controlled and arranged, would most likely be scheduled for the summer pilgrimage season (e.g. St.Martin: 4 July; St.Thomas Becket: 7 July).⁵⁹

If additions, subtractions, diminutions, and displacements of feasts caused changes in medieval calendars, another important reason for variation amongst them was a basic difference in function. A calendar was intended to meet the needs of specific individuals or groups. According to the needs it was designed to meet, a calendar took on definite generic characteristics. For example, the masters at medieval universities had to know when they were obliged not to hold lectures or when they were required to participate in academic gatherings like anniversary masses in honor of some illustrious master of the former times. Consequently, prefacing the libri or cartularies of the several faculties and nations of the medieval University of Paris, appear the academic calendars of observed feasts with such rules of appropriate behavior as festive, non leg(itur);

non disputatur; non leg(itur) ultra tert(iam horam).⁶⁰

The calendar of the Anglo-German nation at Paris (BN MS Lat. Nouv. acq. 535),⁶¹ which is contained in the first six leaves of the nation's cartulary, includes in its original, unamended form about sixty commemorations.⁶² In this form it has been dated c. 1364-70,⁶³ but insertions and annotations were added until well into the sixteenth century.⁶⁴ The calendar exhibits simultaneously a Parisian and a university character, with a number of typically Parisian commemorations (Saints Geneviève - 3 Jan; Marcel - 26 July; Louis - 25 Aug; and others). St. Yves (d. 1303, can. 1347) was venerated on 19 May by both ordinary Parisians and university people, especially those of Breton origins, since this Breton ecclesiastical judge had been an arts' student and decretalist at Paris.⁶⁵ Just as plain as its Parisian home is the calendar's university function. Thus, to cite one hagiographic instance, on the fifth of August, we read: Dominici. Sermo doctoratus in Jacobitis; this refers to the sermon which new Paris doctors heard at the Dominican church on the feast of that order's founder.⁶⁶ The important rôle of both the mendicants and the older monastic orders at the University of Paris is shown by the feasts observed there for Saints Benedict, Bernard (who represents the Cistercians on the original calendar),⁶⁷ Augustine, and Dominic.⁶⁸

Although the Cistercians and the Dominicans are particularly well represented - the latter having Thomas Aquinas (7 March) and Peter Martyr (29 April), the Franciscans strangely lack any mention until in the later fifteenth century two of their saints are inserted: Bernardino of Siena (21 May) and Otto (16 Jan). The second of

these, incorrectly labelled confessor in the calendar, belongs to the group of four Friars Minor who were martyred in Morocco (d.1220).⁶⁹ Seemingly the great Franciscan scholastic and contemporary of St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Bonaventura (d.1274 and can. a year later than the martyrs of Morocco in 1482)⁷⁰ puts in no appearance.⁷¹ The editor of this calendar offers no convincing explanation why St. Francis has been omitted;⁷² ^{is it} ~~it is~~ possible that the poverello's own lack of learning and his opposition to his order brethren's pursuit of it were held against him at Paris?

A final point to conclude this short review of a medieval university calendar: the patron saints of the four nations studying at Paris. The Normans had two feasts closely bound up with their nation, the Conception of the B.V.M. (8 Dec.) and St. Romanus's day (22 Nov.): St. Romanus (d.639) had been bishop of Rouen and was the city's patron.⁷³ The festum Gallicorum occurred on 10 January in honor of St. William of Bourges (d.1209), the Cistercian archbishop of that city and its pillar of orthodoxy against the Albigensian heretics.⁷⁴ On 13 January, the Picards commemorated the translation of St. Firminus, who was venerated as the first bishop of Amiens.⁷⁵ For what at first was known as the English nation, the 20th of November saw the feast of their saint Eadmundi regis et martyris; but from 1436, in consequence of Anglo-French hostilities, the English nation became the German nation and an English king was no longer an appropriate patron; so the Germans chose St. Charlemagne for their patron saint.⁷⁶

Another sort of specialized ecclesiastical calendar developed from using calendars as hagiographic indices of the liturgical books

bound together in a single codex.⁷⁷ Thus, service books like missals, breviaries, sacramentaries, and so on,⁷⁸ contained a program of saints or sanctoral, i.e. a "collection of masses in honor of saints"⁷⁹ a roster which is sometimes mirrored in the calendar but only for those saints who possessed their own offices. Saints who lacked peculiar offices had to fall back upon the "common" (for martyrs, etc.) and would naturally not appear in the sanctoral. So calendar and sanctoral would not necessarily mirror one another. When, however, the books which followed the calendar were themselves of a hagiographic nature — lectionaries, homilaries, passionaries, legendaries⁸⁰ — the correspondance between the roster of saints on the calendar and those saints singled out for "readings" or sermons in subsequent texts was apt to be high. In truth, the calendar exerted such a strong influence upon hagiographic collections that medieval homilaries and legendaries came to be ordered by the sequence of feasts of the liturgical year, perhaps beginning with the first saint of Advent, St. Andrew. Besides its prefatory calendar, therefore, a hagiographic collection itself often resembles a calendar of saints.⁸¹

In a MS. paleographically dated c.1200 (BM, Cotton MSS., Vespasian A.xiv) the calendar which occupies fol. 1-6 serves as a kind of liturgical introduction to the collection of saints' lives which the codex contains.⁸² The saints lives are preceded by a table of contents which provides the title for the work: Incipiunt capitula in vitas sanctorum wallensium.⁸³ Now from the study of the entire MS. it is clear that just as the capitula was written to show the hagiographic contents of the codex, so the calendar was composed as

a preface to ^{the} whole work, for its Welsh entries were transcribed not from the various vitae but from the capitula. The calendar, then, was doubtless the last item to have been written and in fact incorporates scribal errors originating in the capitula.⁸⁴ All the fourteen saints whose vitae are found in the MS. are commemorated in the calendar, and the festivals of three other saints who appear as minor figures in these lives are also noted there.⁸⁵ Out of a total of eighty-four commemorations, including additions, nearly forty of them pertain to Welsh or Irish saints.⁸⁶

This evident regard for the native saints is radically unlike the contempt shown for them by Anglo-Norman monasteries in post-Conquest Wales. But the Monmouth daughter-house of the abbey of Saint-Florent of Saumur, from whose scriptorium the MS. derives, was of Angevin-Breton origins and sympathies, and consequently prepared to accept the indigenous Welsh cults.⁸⁷ The monks of Monmouth took four of their feasts from their mother-house at Saumur; they observed the feasts of only four English saints, all with firm local associations; while the Welsh saints in their calendar, both those whose vitae appear in the MS. and the twenty Welsh saints unrepresented there, are nearly all taken from on-going cults located in Monmouth or in adjacent regions.⁸⁸ Although this calendar introduces a series of literary texts, its function, as distinct from the purely literary martyrologies referred to earlier, remains that of a true ecclesiastical calendar; in other words, it registers and guides the liturgical practice of a particular religious center.

Yet once its links with collective liturgical practice were severed, a medieval calendar could assume a very different form. A new purpose again results in a new variety of calendar. As an illustration of a calendar of saints divorced from a community's liturgical observance, one may refer to the well-known devotional book of the later medieval laity, the horae or prymer.⁸⁹ Books of Hours intended for the Christian laity make their appearance during the fourteenth century, achieving in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the apex of their popularity.⁹⁰ Possibly in the latter half of the fourteenth century, the English vernacular prymer arrives on the scene.⁹¹ Enjoying an immense success which early printing exploited,⁹² these layman's prayerbooks became a significant feature of popular piety in the last centuries of the Middle Ages.⁹³ Books of hours touch on the cult of saints in four important respects: their litanies and suffrages; miniatures occasionally; and calendars nearly always. Usually, a book of hours opens with a calendar.⁹⁴

At first these calendars in books of hours in no way deviated from the properly liturgical models which the scribes copied.⁹⁵ But simple reproduction ceased and deviations from liturgical models grew more numerous, however, ^{once} ~~one~~ books of hours demonstrated their marketability. Once they began to be produced on a mass basis for an increasing lay demand by ecclesiastically unsupervised teams of scribes, then speed of production certainly mattered and so did attractiveness, unsullied by corrections, but accuracy mattered not at all.⁹⁶ Perhaps their most noticeable departure from their liturgical models occurs when calendars of books of hours discarded

latin and assumed the vernacular.⁹⁷ This apparently innocuous step had a curious effect upon the roster of saints which the calendar lists. Bizarre martyrs and confessors with unheard of names take their places along with the traditional heroes of the Church, the result, surely, not always of conscious invention as was at one time suggested,⁹⁸ but rather mostly of faulty dictation, mishearing, poor transcription, and the pitfalls of popular speech.⁹⁹ Thus a St.Soufflet (13 Jan.) is really a St.Sulpicius (17 Jan.) whom popular language has first transmuted into a St.Soupplet.¹⁰⁰

Undoubtedly these creations of scribal carelessness ran no risk of becoming new saints, that is, of securing a cult under false pretenses, since the laity had nothing to do with the administration of the liturgy. Yet the existence of such irregular 'saints' may be an indirect outcome of lay needs, just as the use of the vernacular itself conveys an unmistakable hint of the laity. Now part of the cause for these distortions in the calendars of books of hours is normally credited to another of their characteristics: the lack of any blank spaces in them. The scribes who composed them seemed to insist upon a saint for every day of the year.¹⁰¹ Rarely encountered in the calendars of MS. breviaries,¹⁰² totally full calendars immediately remind one of those martyrologies whose fullness reveals a literary rather than a liturgical aim. To want no day to be without its saint — a desire which would certainly invite obscure choices and scribal errors, points away from liturgical purposes, away from the ecclesiastical cult of saints, and possibly instead towards the laity's encyclopedic curiosity about the church's complete repertory — perhaps for

private, votive reasons of its own. Moreover, having a saint for every day of the year would mean that the layman would be able to use his calendar, if he chose, as a guide to the dating of secular documents. Quite simply, it may be that scribes wanted to provide, and laymen wanted to receive, value for money.¹⁰³

Less useful than ecclesiastical calendars as documents of cult, the calendars of books of hours sometimes furnish valuable information about personal patrons, especially if the scribe received his instructions directly from his client.¹⁰⁴ Besides, overly sharp classifications of medieval calendars do violence to the evidence. As a consequence of grafting a new purpose, i.e. a new list of saints, onto an already existing calendar, intermediate species, veritable hybrids were brought into being.¹⁰⁵

The calendar, then, was both a cause and a result of ongoing liturgical cult. Saints who appeared jointly on the same day of the calendar were often commemorated jointly; such a connection in turn could lead to grouping in images and shared church dedications.¹⁰⁶ At the same time, the calendar was fundamentally a reflection of the cults observed in a particular locality. Medieval ecclesiastical calendars owe their differences not only to their pattern of change ^{or} of their various functions, but also to their profound adaptations to specific places. Each church, each diocese, each cultural region, each nation was capable of bringing together a series of cults into a hagiographic program as identifiable as a fingerprint. Indeed, scholars have been for the most part conscious of the distinctiveness of a program of saints pri-

marily in order to make use of it in determining the provenance of suitable MSS.¹⁰⁷ This technical use of hagiographic knowledge may be valuable and exciting, but what matters here is the basic fact that the calendar program situates a characteristic pattern of cult in a localized geographical setting.

The localization of the cult of saints means that calendars belonging to a particular church will exhibit a number of local peculiarities.¹⁰⁸ Non-sainted benefactors or founders of religious houses, for instance, will in ordinary practice have their obits or anniversaries mentioned. Local saints whose cults remained restricted to where they began will only here have their feast days observed and local churches will annually commemorate the day on which they were consecrated. Local religious history will also be mirrored in feasts celebrating translations of relics claimed by the community. Perhaps the relics were not those of a local saint, but rather of a saint whose fama extended throughout the universal Church; in this case, the non-standard date of the translation feast would indicate localization. Because of local displacements, confusions, and the many homonyms among the saints, one cannot presume that the feast day of a well-known saint will necessarily appear on a local calendar at the date normally allotted to it elsewhere; local practice may diverge from the general rule. Scholars mainly interested in localizing MSS with the help of the calendar tend to discount the universal saints too quickly.¹⁰⁹ Yet these feast days may have assumed a particular local significance, and besides, to omit any feast day from consideration invalidates the idea of a total program of cults.¹¹⁰

The local hagiographic program which the calendar presents reveals a good deal about the cultural history of the community, especially when the calendar is brought into relation with other historical sources. Since the calendar is a map of specific influences impinging upon a precise locus, from it one should be able to read the direction of cultural contact, within a defined region and beyond it. Moreover, it may be possible to form a judgement about the cultural and religious life of a church by assessing its receptivity to new cults or by examining the ^{eras} ~~areas~~ best represented by local saints in its calendar.

The relatively slight corpus of Venetian calendars from the eleventh to the fifteenth century points to some interesting problems for historians of that city. For one thing, the paucity of Venice-born saints who appear on these calendars is striking (the sole candidate, it seems, is St. Gerard Sagredo, d.1046).¹¹¹ For another, the few calendars which are available indicate a pronounced conservatism towards new saints. Even with the handful of later medieval saints recorded, it seems that a long delay has intervened before their feasts were formally received (e.g. St. Homobonus, d. 1197, is first encountered in the fifteenth century; St. Peter Martyr, d.1252, is first mentioned on the printed calendar of 1589).¹¹² Unsurprisingly, the cultural influence of Byzantium and Ravenna, and of Venice's long contact with the Christian East, is visible in the commemorations of Eastern saints, many of whose relics the Venetians eagerly acquired.¹¹³ Eastern influence also largely explains the impact of Old Testament saints on the Venetian hagiographic program, although their inclusion in Western martyrologies ought not to be forgotten.¹¹⁴

The oldest surviving ecclesiastical calendar of Faenza dates in the main from the early fifteenth century but contains some insertions made towards the middle of the fifteenth century, when the document was copied.¹¹⁵ In the calendar may be found the commemorations of all the titularies of the more than seventy churches and chapels in fifteenth century Faenza and its suburbs.¹¹⁶ Certain important Faenzan saints whose relics were not held within the city or who were not church titularies have not been given a place in the calendar.¹¹⁷ The historical nucleus of the calendar consists of an eleventh century program typical of the ecclesiastical province of Ravenna.¹¹⁸ The basic eleventh century program includes the feasts of approximately one hundred and fifteen universal saints, twenty-one saints from Ravenna and its province, and about ten saints from Faenza.¹¹⁹ To this program were added the feasts imposed by the provincial synod of Ravenna (21 June 1311), perhaps amounting to eighteen further saints; the feasts of saints found in the Roman calendar and thus probably testifying to its influence, totalling roughly fifteen 'old' i.e. non-canonized saints and eleven 'new' canonized saints; and, finally, the feasts of nine saints from the papal calendar of Avignon, six for 'old' saints and three for 'new' and canonized saints.¹²⁰ Although these tabulations do not tell us how or in what order the post-eleventh century additions were made — whether some saints entered individually or as part of a group influx from the Roman calendar,¹²¹ we do manage to gain some idea through them of the religious and cultural influences impinging upon and shaping the hagiographic program of Faenza, and of that city's receptivity to new cults.

Yet, "all liturgical cults were not celebrated with equal éclat."¹²² Because certain saints universally and certain saints locally were more highly esteemed than others, their respective feasts were observed with varying degrees of liturgical pomp. This liturgical ranking of saints' feasts in the calendar is not only an inherently interesting phenomenon, but also a valuable clue in discovering the provenance of MS. calendars, for the relative importance attached to a given cult in a particular locality may be decisive in identifying where the calendar was employed. Marks of special veneration might include vigils and octaves; twelve rather than nine lessons; and designations of an increasingly more sophisticated sort like duplex, semiduplex, and magnum duplex.¹²³

Impressive evidence of growing devotion to a saint would be provided by an ever-rising liturgical dignity of that saint's feast. Thus in the statutes for the whole Cistercian order, the feast of St. Catherine, virgin and martyr (25 Nov.), is progressively elevated from a simple commemoration and mass (in the statutes of 1207) to twelve lessons and two masses (in the statutes of 1300).¹²⁴ Similarly, among the Carthusians the feast of St. Hugh of Lincoln (17 Nov.) steadily assumes greater weight, from a mere three lessons at the time of his canonization in 1220 to an observance cum candelis et capitulo for all Chartreuses in 1339.¹²⁵ On the other hand, to designate a feast sine sermone in the Cistercian calendar meant that the saint in question occupied a secondary status in the order.¹²⁶

Probably the most visible designation of major liturgical rank was rubrication. From the late twelfth century, the feasts of specially venerated saints were red-letter days.¹²⁷ Unrubri-

cated feasts were usually commemorated entirely within the church, restricted, in other words, to a wholly liturgical observance (the festa chori). But saints whose days were held to be major feasts and therefore marked in red on the calendar were usually doubly honored; both choral ceremony within the church and holiday behavior in the world outside might testify to their high status. These festivals (the festa fori) could extend into the social world of ordinary laymen and often entailed obligations of wider impact than liturgical ceremonial alone.¹²⁸ There can be no doubt, of course, that festa fori saints enjoyed a cult of greater historical significance than their festa chori brethren.

Judged by the number of people in some way affected by them, the festa fori holy days must be considered one of the most pervasive manifestations of the cult of the saints in the later Middle Ages. The most basic behavior patterns of ordinary individuals and of entire communities had to be altered to preserve the holidays of saints. Certainly by the later Middle Ages it would truer to say that these holidays had become part of the behavioral rhythm of both individuals and communities, bringing with them a whole range of local usages and customs, secular, religious, and unclassifiably intermediate.¹²⁹ At present, it is enough to survey the range of holiday behavior, sacred and profane, without remarking upon derelictions or misconduct on saints' days, and the consequent outbursts of criticism which these abuses provoked.

To attend Mass was obligatory on festa fori, "those days when laymen should rest from labor and go to church."¹³⁰ For the monks,

the canonical office on a major saint's day would consist of twelve lessons; throughout the day, the saint's name would be invoked constantly in hymns and responses; and his acta and perhaps a portion of his miracula would be read. Liturgically, the saint would stamp his personality upon the day.¹³¹ For the laity, the corresponding means of acquiring knowledge of the saint being honored could be achieved through the vernacular sermon, or, more vividly and in a less liturgical way, through the vernacular drama.

That vernacular preaching was one of the chief tasks of the new mendicant orders is in itself a comment upon the inadequacy of the parish clergy in carrying out their responsibility. With the coming of the friars, the sermon addressed to ordinary folk tended to become more popular and anecdotal; and in fact the friars contributed very many of the most prominent preachers of the later Middle Ages.¹³² It is difficult to generalize about how often the laity were exposed to sermons on the various saints' days. If one is told that the cures of fourteenth century Flanders "preached little and badly,"¹³³ one immediately thinks of the huge crowds which fifteenth century Italian Observantines attracted. Yet these itinerant popular favorites were necessarily exceptional men, and certain facetious stories point to more cursory Italian performances.¹³⁴ Moreover, when the so-called sermons de sanctis are looked at as vehicles of hagiographic instruction, some ambiguities appear.¹³⁵

Stories of the saints in medieval sermons frequently recall the exempla literature. No doubt there were illustrations of the

saint's miraculous powers and wondrous deeds,¹³⁶ but the didactic emphasis was usually placed upon his morality,¹³⁷ the tropological sense of scripture being dear to medieval preachers. In medieval English sermons, such as those in the Festial of John Myrc,¹³⁸ "the very grotesqueness and apparent irreverence of the speaker is but a natural result of the realistic, homely way in which he looks at his heroes. It is their humanity that delights him, as well as their virtue."¹³⁹ Arresting details from their legends; their personal quirks; anachronisms, which, like the art of the time, dressed the saints in contemporary costume: these treasures of successful popular preaching, when retailed to an entertainment-seeking audience, might, like iconographic attributes, be remembered as part of a whole story or as isolated incidents. But whether the saint was viewed as a wonderworking embodiment of Christian virtue or whether he was placed in a realistic if folkloric world of ghosts, fairies, devils ('the heavenly host',¹⁴⁰), the saint in these sermons lacked any historical setting. Used as a point of departure for a basically moralizing sermon, the vita scarcely mattered as framework for 'historical' events. The principle stated by the preacher Aldobrandinus of Toscanella could justify considerable freedom in treating a saint's career: 'Propter hoc ecclesia celebrat festivitates sanctorum non solum propter eorum gloriam sed etiam propter nostram utilitatem.'¹⁴¹

The early volumes of J.B. Schneyer's Repertorium der Lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350 suggest that medieval preachers devoted more of their time to sermons de tempore whose material would be biblical than to sermons de sanctis

where hagiography would be plundered.¹⁴² Furthermore, many of the sermons ostensibly devoted to saints do not mention them at all; instead, the gospel passage of the day serves as the text. Lastly, the saint might be mentioned in such general terms that any one of the same type could be substituted for him.¹⁴³ Less surprising than this negative picture, which is still necessarily an incomplete one, is the relatively limited number of saints who were celebrated in sermons. About eighty-five saints regularly recur; outside of these, there are only a comparatively few saints honored with a sermon in their own name.¹⁴⁴ When we recall the great many local saints and beati of the later Middle Ages and realize that in the first three of Schneyer's volumes more than 30,000 sermon titles of 500-600 authors are listed (some preachers being credited with a vast output, e.g. Brother James of Lausanne, O.P. (d.1322) with 1402 sermons),¹⁴⁵ two possible explanations spring to mind. The first is that sermons on local saints may have indeed been given—taken from the legenda or borrowed from a sermon of another saint whose life or type resembled the local one; but that these isolated pieces delivered by obscure preachers, and perhaps never set down in ^Latin, have either escaped detection by the cataloguers or have not survived. And secondly, the existence of the eighty-five recurring feasts, constituting a relatively narrow program of widely venerated saints, more or less corresponds to the class of saints in liturgical calendars receiving universal cult.

The enormous importance which St. Bernardino attributed to sermons is well known.¹⁴⁶ Sermons of his devoted to saints, however, do not bulk very large among his Latin works; and of the saints

Bernardino lauds, only Francis (several times represented), Thomas Aquinas, Anthony of Padua, Dominic, Clara, and Louis of Toulouse — only six of the most famous Franciscan and Dominican saints come from the entire period following St. Bernard of Clairvaux and extending on to Bernardino's own fifteenth century.¹⁴⁷

Again, we may turn to the sermones aurei de sanctis of Leonard of Utino (d. 1470), which can be studied in an early printed edition (Strasbourg, c. 1485).¹⁴⁸ Here, out of a total of sixty-five sermons, nine pertain to Jesus, five to Mary, and six to non-individual feasts such as All-Saints, All-Souls, etc. The remaining forty-five sermons (including two on John the Baptist) are, with the exception of five, all concerned with 'old' saints (pre-1200). The exceptions are: Saints Thomas Aquinas, Peter Martyr, Dominic, Francis, and the sermon 'In dedicatione ecclesie sancti petri martiris de utino.' Brother Leonard clearly shows his Dominican affiliations by his choice of modern saints. Certainly there are no unexpected inclusions; undoubtedly all of the forty-five saints honored with sermons by Brother Leonard would appear amongst Schneyer's eighty-five most regularly sermonized saints. Noteworthy, perhaps, as a mark of individuality, is the deliberately placed first item in this collection of sermons: 'De sancte Leonard confessore.'

Schneyer's Revertorium will not include vernacular sermons and even when complete will stop short at 1350. A Bollandist reviewer, however, hints, and his impression seems sound, that precisely in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the cult of

saints "gains in amplitude" in sermon collections.¹⁴⁹ Yet from the Latin collections of Bernardino and Leonard of Utino, it seems that the saints being celebrated are not, on the whole, those nearest in time to the preacher; only a handful of post-1200 saints are represented. Necessarily, collections such as these do not reveal anything of vernacular panegyrics to local patrons. It was always possible, nevertheless, for poorly trained and inexperienced local preachers to adapt or simply to parrot the words of itinerant professionals who left their collections of sermons in honor of universally famous saints behind them.

Aside from Mass and perhaps a sermon on the saint whose holiday was being celebrated, saints' days could also be times of private religious exercises, acts of personal devotion regarded as obligatory by the pious. The Church recommended good works, penance, prayers, self-examination, and visits to near-by pilgrimage shrines.¹⁵⁰ In addition to lenten and ember-day feasts, the vigils of other major holidays, such as the feasts of the apostles and saints Lawrence and John the Baptist's nativity were marked by fasting as a preparatory penance; with the expansion of high feasts in the later Middle Ages, these vigil fasts likewise increased.¹⁵¹ Although the old prescription of sexual abstinence between husband and wife on vigils and feriae legitimae had, by the thirteenth century, ceased to be practiced by ordinary layfolk, married penitents of the later Middle Ages still continued to obey it.¹⁵² That the feasts of certain saints were thus honored by marital continence in pious households may be glimpsed in the Decameron.¹⁵³

Consequently, some forms of behavior, for the most part public and collective, were characteristic of later medieval holidays. But to divide this behavior into religious or secular acts is troublesome and quite possibly misleading. Worldly interests did not halt on the threshold of the church. The preacher in fact might be totally concerned with the burning political issues of the day, using scripture to support his views.¹⁵⁴ Hence an act formally religious could very well be secular in content. For later medieval holiday behavior, the prime illustration of a rite with a quasi-religious, quasi-secular character is the procession.

Well before the Middle Ages, processions were a habitual means of Christian religious expression. The various processions within the church need not detain us,¹⁵⁵ but public processions outside the church building were dramatic occasions and whether held as part of the annual cycle of feasts or prompted by special needs, cannot be ignored as manifestations of the cult of saints. Of great antiquity was the annual procession on St. Mark's day (25th April),¹⁵⁶ while at an equally early period, during times of public calamity, rites of intercession involved processions (rogations, litanies) together with penitential songs and prayers.¹⁵⁷ Gregory of Tours records that when pestilence threatened the people of Rheims they gathered at the tomb of St. Remigius to beg his intercession: 'the procession being accompanied with hymns and psalms, while candles on crosses and lanterns were carried.'¹⁵⁸ Moreover, the saints played an important role in the processional rites for the dedication of churches, and in ad stationes processions which began at one church and concluded at another where

the service was held; in these and other rituals, relics of the saints were ordinarily carried.¹⁵⁹ Naturally the translation of relics was itself a processional ritual in which public attention was exclusively focussed upon the saints. A hymn written by Callixtus II (d.1124) in honor of St. James of Compostella probably owes its origins to just such an event, and similar translations provided the raison d'être for a good many other processional hymns in praise of saints.¹⁶⁰

When we come to the later Middle Ages, we perceive no discontinuity. All of these forms of procession persist and indeed flourish. As a traditional mode of adding glory to a saint's feast, a procession indicates not only a healthy public cult but also signals a degree of veneration superior to the average. In Siena on the 14th of August, the eve of the great civic festival of the Assumption of Mary, the people of the city assembled before sunset. Every age group, every social class participated, arranged according to parish. Led by their parish clergy each body of marchers, all carrying illuminated tapers, followed the banners; the civic magistrates, and the carreccio, the whole procession moving towards the religious center of their city, the cathedral.¹⁶¹ City magistrates in later medieval Italy and elsewhere were required, as an official obligation, to take part in such processions.¹⁶² Sometimes in local breviaries and diocesan 'processionals', exact topographical instructions may be found which detail what is to happen and where it should happen at each stage of the proceedings.¹⁶³ One has the impression that, like any other religious rite, processions had to be carried out flawlessly to guard against inva-

validation. This means that the route of a given procession through the streets of a city was not at all arbitrary. Certain stations on the line of march had to be visited. Thus some Italian chroniclers show an almost ritual concern with setting down the exact details of a procession's itinerary, a preoccupation which may otherwise seem inexplicable.^{163a}

Now it must be pointed out that very many, perhaps most, of the later medieval processions of the first rank were in honor of the Virgin or of Christ. Of the Flemish processions "de première grandeur" which Toussaert discusses,¹⁶⁴ none pertained to the ordinary saints. True, the models of the earliest Corpus Domini processions, originating at Liège in 1246, were those honoring local church patrons. For the relics or image of the saint, the eucharist was substituted.¹⁶⁵ But from about 1318, when Urban IV's bull Transiturus still-born at Orvieto in 1264, was papally re-activated,¹⁶⁶ the eucharistic cult more and more attracted to its processions the greatest ceremonial pomp, assuming quite clearly the half-secular character of a pageant, progress, or Renaissance triumph.¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, if the processional nature of later medieval religious 'movements' ought to be emphasized, and, in conjunction with them, the public processions ordered by Innocent III in 1212 and by Honorius III in 1217 to invoke divine favor upon Christian crusaders should be recalled,¹⁶⁸ it nevertheless cannot be claimed that the saints occupied more than a subsidiary position in these primarily Christocentric enterprises. Again, during times of crisis, the Virgin rather than a local saint might be processionally supplicated; thus the Sienese resorted to Mary

in the desperate days before they fought the Florentines at Montaperti in 1260.¹⁶⁹

Yet, through their relics, the saints shared in the Sienese Marian processions,¹⁷⁰ just as the relics of the apostles had been solemnly processed through the streets of Rome when the capital of Christendom had been threatened by the troops of the Emperor Frederick II.¹⁷¹ But these times of emergency recourse to processions in which the saints in some way figured were exceptional. More typically, the Franciscans of Provence observed the feast of St. Francis with a procession;¹⁷² and medieval Lincoln did the same for St. Mark and St. Stephen, among others.¹⁷³ Fifteenth century Bruges had an annual processional cycle associated with its festivals, including the feasts of Saints Basil, Boniface, Eligius (Eloi), and Donatian.¹⁷⁴ Perhaps one reason why countless such instances have usually been left unexamined by general historians is that, like the changing of the seasons, routine occurrences convey an apparently timeless quality, an uneventfulness which is apt to be deceptive.

Jacob Burckhardt understood that medieval processions always contained secular elements which, with little difficulty, could evolve in their own direction. Burckhardt saw civic processions gradually losing their ecclesiastical character and becoming triumphs and progresses; similarly, greater pomp, the increased use of stage properties, and dramatization helped to secularize their religious counterparts from within.¹⁷⁵ But the saints continued to be a decorative accessory to even the most ingenious

of mechanized pageants. In 1453, Duke Borso ceremonially received the homage of Reggio, being greeted at the city gate by the patron St. Prospero who was positioned on top of an elaborate mechanical contrivance enabling him to convey to the Duke the insignia of civic power.¹⁷⁶ Outlasting a simpler medieval setting, the local patron saint retains his office, only the theatrical décor has become more resplendent.¹⁷⁷

French royal entries develop in a parallel fashion, from fairly straightforward affairs in the late thirteenth century to sumptuous and costly rituals by the end of the fourteenth.¹⁷⁸ Reversing Buckhardt's Italian evolutionary scheme, these lay rites become "un moment essentiel de la religion royale", and so acquire clergy who often head the procession "accentuant ainsi le caractère religieux de l'entrée royale."¹⁷⁹ What the saints bestow upon these grand occasions is an added sense of religious dignity, of sacred history in which the symbols of the past shed luster upon those who can legitimately claim a bond with them. The monarch is never upstaged; indeed, fifteenth century French royal entrants again and again encounter their canonized ancestor St. Louis — with Charlemagne and Clovis,¹⁸⁰ once with the royal scepter,¹⁸¹ and once being presented by his mother to St. Dominic for instruction;¹⁸² and so on. At the same time as paying homage to their king, the French townsmen whose treasure has been lavished upon these spectacles wish to assert their collective glory, and they do so by calling attention to their patrons and protectors among the saints. Hence Paris presents a tableau of Saints Thomas, Denis, Maurice, Louis, Geneviève,¹⁸³ while Brive exhibits the relics of St. Valérie,¹⁸⁴

and Troyes features a poem in which its most important relic holdings are listed.¹⁸⁵ Although there is room for the saints in French royal entries, it would be an exaggeration to pretend that their part is more than decorative.

Some processions were demonstrably more secular than others, but most show an indefinable mingling of religious and worldly elements,¹⁸⁶ which might symbolize a good deal of medieval holiday behavior. Another borderline case mid-way between religious observance and secular entertainment owes something to the growth of ever more theatrical processions as it does to religious art, vivid popular preaching, and enthusiastic religious movements, but the main roots of the later medieval vernacular drama lead indirectly back to the latin liturgy of the medieval church.¹⁸⁷

The emergence of Christian drama out of an inherently dramatic Christian liturgy,¹⁸⁸ an evolution not without analogies to the rise of Greek theatre,¹⁸⁹ had already occurred by the tenth century.¹⁹⁰ The Ordo representationis Ade, which dates from around the mid-twelfth century, is usually taken to be a transitional work exhibiting a semi-liturgical character. Although its stage-directions are in Latin, the 'Play of Adam' "is the oldest extant play written almost wholly in the vernacular."¹⁹¹ Its Anglo-Norman author was thus preparing the way for the more laicized vernacular drama of the later Middle Ages.¹⁹²

Together with nativity and passion plays, saints' plays were an important element in the popularization of Christianity, and

their elaborate scenic effects and realistic treatment of miraculous intervention by the saints not only affected artistic representation,¹⁹³ but also brought the saints into the everyday world. Providing more direct acquaintance with the persona of a saint than pictorial art could convey, the dramatized vita, passio, or miraculum brought hagiographic legends before a large, illiterate audience. Like the biblical stories, or apocryphal embellishments of them out of which the Old and New Testament cycles were constructed, hagiography, whether borrowed from latin collections like the legenda aurea or from previously translated vernacular versions, supplied the playwright with what he wanted to know about his saint. Unlike passion or resurrection plays, however, the dramatized M-lives and miracles of the saints would have very little to offer in the way of doctrinal teaching; the human suffering or divinely endowed power of the saint would usually have to suffice.¹⁹⁴

The first known vernacular saint's play is Jean Bodel's Jus (Jeu) de Saint Nicholai whose première took place in the author's home town of Arras on the eve (December 5) of St. Nicholas's feast, in 1200 or 1201.¹⁹⁵ The century in any event is indicative, for it ushers in a great expansion of hagiographically inspired plays in contrast to the predominantly biblically inspired liturgical and transitional works of the preceding century.¹⁹⁶ Bodel alludes to a written vita "Del miracle saint Nicolai/Est chis jeus fais et estorés,"¹⁹⁷ and some scholars prefer to call dramas about saints 'miracle plays,'¹⁹⁸ while others favor the more general terms which begins to be used at the commencement of the fifteenth century 'mysteries' (from ministerium, function, act, or liturgio-

al office; confused fairly early, however, with mysterium).¹⁹⁹

From the time of Jean Bodel, therefore, vernacular saint's plays, ordinarily produced and performed under lay auspices, contributed to the holiday atmosphere in medieval towns. When Petit de Julleville declares: "il n'y eut peut-être pas une seule ville au moyen âge qui n'entreprît de jouer des mystères,"²⁰⁰ this does not of course mean that all these plays were about saints, nor that it is possible to document more than a small proportion of actual performances.

Consequently, many details regarding these plays must remain open to speculation, but we do know the sort of motives which prompted the production of religious dramas. In 1408, the dean, canons and burgesses of Bar-sur-Aube received permission from the Bishop of Langres to stage the life and miracles of their patron St. Maclou 'pour l'honneur et louange du saint.'²⁰¹ The glory of the saint might have also extended to those individuals or communities who honored him. Communal motives behind the Montélimar Jeu de sainte Catherine of 1453 (*X'attente quod erit maximum exemplum honorque et utilitas et commodum ville*)²⁰² must have paralleled Seurre's 'Mistere du glorieux amy de Dieu monseigneur Sain^ct Martin, patron de Seure' of 1496.²⁰³ Similarly, when Charles VIII was at Saint-Genouph in 1490, he witnessed the mystere of Saint Genouph.²⁰⁴ Another, more unwelcome visiting dignitary was the plague; it too might be offered a religious spectacle, but with less emphasis on local patriotism and more on propitiation. Nothing illustrates the continuity of liturgical intent, even in the supposedly thoroughly laicized vernacula^r theater, better than

these propitiatory rites.²⁰⁵ The subjects of plague ^{dramas} were not necessarily the legends of the prime specialists Saints Sebastian and Roch. Metz in 1438 sought the intercession of St. Erasmus and therefore re-enacted his life and torments.²⁰⁶ A happier occasion meriting a saint's play was the granting of an indulgence to a local church. As part of the pardon-time celebrations, a mystère in honor of the local church patron would be an excellent way of combining merrymaking with edification.²⁰⁷ Individual as well as collective motives naturally led to the staging of plays. Can it be coincidental that the costs of a 1468 production of 'le jeu de madame sainte Catherine de Sienne' should have been borne by dame Catherine Baudouche of Metz who had previously founded in the name of the same saint, a chapel in the local Dominican convent within whose walls the ^{play} ~~play~~ was to be performed?²⁰⁸

These plays might well have taught Wagner the strength of popular endurance. Not quite interminable, they often times extended for three days, due allowance having been made for intermissions to sustain life.²⁰⁹ 'Le jeu et feste du glorieux saint Nicholas' held at Saint-Nicholas-du-Port in 1478 went on for five whole days.²¹⁰ Now what at first sight appears rather surprising is that saints' plays were not necessarily produced on the feast day of the saint in question. ^{To} ~~The~~ check all the instances of dated representations provided by Petit de Julleville against the feast days of the saints is to discover that summer scheduling of plays for winter saints was not uncommon. Furthermore, the feasts of Christ and Mary were also occasions for plays about saints, and the feast of Pentecost was much used as a time for them too. A mystère about

St. Michael could even be presented on St. Bartholomew's day (Metz, 1480).²¹¹ Climate and convenience help to account for these apparent anomalies. But also one must not forget that major public festivals might require the participation of all organized groups within the community whose individual contributions to the general celebration could include the dramatized acta of their respective patron saints.

Petit de Julleville's inventory of known performances may be radically incomplete in historical terms, but it constitutes the best guide we have to the preferences of medieval French audiences.²¹² According to tabulations based upon a total of 212 items from this catalogue, registering plays performed in the period 1290-1520, Old Testament (12), New Testament (92), and others, largely historical (8), dramas make up slightly more than half the total number (112). The remaining 100 productions were about saints. Out of these 100 however, a mere four took as their subject saints who lived after the year 1200 (St. Roch — twice performed: 1493 at Abbeville and 1500 at Béthune; St. Catherine of Siena at Metz, 1468; and St. Nicholas of Tolentino at Lyon in 1506). The subjects of the most popular plays were St. Barbara (9 performances), St. Catherine of Alexandria (7 performances), St. Sebastian (4 performances), and St. John the Baptist (4 performances). With the exception of the four 'modern' saints, the saints of the mystères fall into two broad classes: the early Christian apostles and martyrs; and the French apostolic bishops of a later, though pre-Carolingian, period. There seem to be no saints at all who died between 700/800 and 1300; and after 1300, just four.

Perhaps the statistics of choice will become clearer if we examine the sponsors^{ship} of these productions, beginning with the plays about 'modern' saints. ^{Why} St. Roch was selected as a subject for drama cannot be determined from the existing documents,²¹³ but the era and the patronage speciality (Cf. the relative popularity of St. Sebastian) strongly suggest the plague. St. Catherine of Siena had a well-off namesake and the Dominicans as sponsors,²¹⁴ while St. Nicholas of Tolentino relied upon the backing of his fellow Augustinians.²¹⁵ Plays about apostolic bishops, it is reasonable to assume, were most often subsidized by the respective towns, chapters, or pious confraternities whose titularies and patrons they were. Some early Christian saints would also fall within the category. Specific circumstances affecting sponsorship must not be forgotten. The plague, for one thing, might compel an entire community to rally to a specialist. Then again, concessions to the hagiographic tastes of a powerful visitor could result in an unlikely selection, as when 'les gens de Paris' put on 'le mistere de la passion de saint Georges' in 1422 'pour l'amour du roy d'Angleterre... et des seigneurs dudit pays.'²¹⁶ The choice of so English a patron could not have displeased Henry V. But, in general, the key to sponsorship lies in the continuing association between a corporation and a saint; patronage, in a word. Towns would want a dramatic version of the career of their chief protector; and the town patrons of France had on the whole been determined long before 1200. Yet municipal patrons do not account for all the choices.

When Petit de Julleville cites three performances in honor of Saints Crispin and Crispinian,²¹⁷ he alerts us at once to a

powerful corporate interest — the guilds, in this case the guild of shoemakers. Scholars agree in assigning to the guilds and the confraternities a great deal of the responsibility for staging the later medieval mystères.²¹⁸ Like the towns, guilds had their characteristic patron saints; and tradesmen were just as prepared as municipalities to glorify themselves collectively through glorifying the symbol of their unity. In any survey of saints and holiday behavior, therefore, the impact of guilds and confraternities deserves mention.²¹⁹

During the later Middle Ages confrèries, Bruderschaften of many sorts proliferated, as social extensions of occupational groups; as charitable organizations; as spiritual fellowships (disciplinati, laudesi, etc.); and as societies of mutual aid. A fitting analogue to an age more of chapel than of cathedral building, the confraternity was a predominantly lay-controlled ecclesiola in ecclesia.²²⁰ Quite regularly, the confraternities would assemble on their patrons' days. The translation of some relics of St. Stephen to Venice in 1110 resulted in the institution of a confraternity which annually commemorated the anniversary of that event (25 May) with a procession.²²¹ Founded in 1376, the Gilde sancti Thome episcopi Cantuariensis of Lynn promised to maintain a two pound wax candle before the image of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the Church of St. Nicholas for burning during the festival days of the year. Their main reunion would take place on the summer feast of St. Thomas. On that day

eueriche brother and sistir of this gilde
shuln seme-lyn in a certayne place, faire
and honestliche arayde. And then alle the

bretheryn and sisteryn of this fraternite,
 alle to-gedir shuln wend to the forseide
 Chirche, ther for to heryn, wele and deuow-
 teliche, a messe solempliche soungyn.²²²

Offerings would complete the occasion for the confraternity, whose primary purpose seems to have been mutual assistance and burial services.²²³ The ordinances of the Poor Men of Norwich (1380) whose patron was the titular of their parish church St. Augustine of England, impose similar obligations.²²⁴ Typically, the patron saint was mentioned last in the preamble to the ordinances ("and specialike in the honour of seynte James, of ^{owre} qwom_^ fraternite is foundyn and stablyd"²²⁵). Typically also, members would process, assemble, hear mass, hold a meeting, and pledge themselves to burn a large candle before the image or upon the altar of their patron—all on his feast day.²²⁶

Occupational confraternities are sometimes wholly equated with the various craft guilds; and indeed even where there was institutional separation the membership of each body was likely to overlap and interconnect. In Italy the guild statutes of the later medieval arti many times embraced confraternal functions. But distinctions are necessary. The crafts of Languedoc, for example, were organized as corporations at least a century before occupational confraternities made their appearance, although pious confraternities had appeared very early. From the end of the thirteenth century these occupational confraternities attached themselves to the Languedoc crafts, expanding rapidly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²²⁷ The 1292 statutes of the silversmiths of Montpellier refer to a chapel with an altar dedicated to St. Éloi (Eligius).²²⁸ Finally, in Languedoc trade guild

and occupational confraternity coalesced. They had the same members, the same officers, and, in the eyes of the public, the same identity.²²⁹ The first Languedoc statutes do not always mention patron saints. But in nearly every case, by the fifteenth century if not earlier, each confraternity had its patron who gave his name to the association; usually the same patron for identical crafts, regardless of town.²³⁰ The saint's day obligations of the Languedoc occupational confraternities were similar to those of analogous groups elsewhere. For the patron's holiday, abstention from work is required; also members must attend a special mass at the illuminated altar of their saint. Ordinarily, a procession is an important part of this show of solidarity.²³¹

Explicit testimony to the reality of the bond uniting guild members and their patron saint, a bond collectively and annually re-affirmed on the saint's feast^s, may normally be obtained from Italian guild statutes. Deviating from this norm are the 1301-1346 statutes of the Florentine arte dei legnaioli (carpenters). Each of these three sets of regulations commences with a routine, formulaic, litany-like preamble, but after invoking God, the Virgin Mary, and the usual assortment of saints making up the Florentine program (e.g. John the Baptist, Zenobius, Reparata), each protocol terminates without the naming of a guild-patron.²³² Moreover, while days in which no sales may be made are carefully listed — amounting to about forty-nine in 1315, approximately fifty-six in 1346;²³³ yet no feast day is designated which in any way pertains especially to the guild and its members. St. Joseph, whom most people would immediately associate with carpentry, is

conspicuously absent; perhaps his time had not come for the carpenters of fourteenth century Florence.²³⁴ Confraternal activities linked with a patron could have been omitted from the guild statutes. Still, one might have expected to find a trace of patronage choice in the calendar.²³⁴

To the bookbinders of Antwerp (and perhaps elsewhere) the ox or calf of St. Luke which distinguished him from his fellow evangelists, meant vellum. St. Luke, therefore, was their patron saint.²³⁵ Possibly wherever the painters' guild existed, however, and certainly for the arte dei pittori of Lucca, Florence, and Siena, St. Luke was not only the revered "figuratore della statura et de la portatura de la gloriosa vergine Maria" but also "scriptore de la sua... vita et de suo'... costumi",²³⁶ wherefore "è onorata l'arte nostra."²³⁷ The Sienese statutes of 1356 are echoed by the 1386 ordinances of the Florentine painters' arte which, formally dated on the vigil of St. Luke "nostro spetiale avvocato dinanzi alla maiesta divina et dinanzi alla gloriosa vergine Maria," laud the saint as "padre et principio et fondamento di questa compagnia..."²³⁸ Quickly, the Sienese painters raise one of their chief concerns: "come si faccia la festa nostra del venerabile et glorioso missere santo Luca."²³⁹ Elaboration follows in subsequent chapters. Inter alia, the proper observance of St. Luke's day means that all work must cease, and wax candles must be brought and carried in the saint's festal procession.²⁴⁰ Of course the feasts of Mary and holy days "comandate de la santa Chiesa" have to be honored too, but clearly the stress is placed on the feast of the "capo a guida dell'università de' dipentori" — St. Luke.²⁴¹ The painters of

Florence also scrupulously observe the holiday of their "protectore" and, in addition, "ogni anno il di di santa Maria Magdalen... si faccia uno rinovala nella cappella di... santo Lucha."²⁴² For the non-compliant, there were penalties,²⁴³ since it must have appeared that to refuse to join in the celebrations for the patron was tantamount to an admission of disloyalty.

Holidays for later medieval townsmen were occasions in which community bonds could be strengthened through various rituals of a jointly religious and civic nature in which everyone could take part or take pride. For mid-fourteenth century Orvieto, Carpentier makes the interesting point that, aside from times of civic unrest, holidays offered the lowest social strata their only chance to participate in the public life of the community.²⁴⁴ Moreover, inhabitants of the contado would pour into the city during holiday celebrations, thus allowing the town to assert its centrality and importance over its rural hinterland and permitting the contadini, along with their urban counterparts, to experience communal activities in which the ever present threat of factionalism could be momentarily overshadowed by displays of solidarity. Carpentier can therefore compare the social function of the greater and lesser holidays of Orvieto (among the latter alluding to the feasts of St. Peter Parenzo and St. Severus) to the prolonged municipal task of building the cathedral: both holidays and cathedral-building were occasions which simultaneously elicited and verified civic solidarity.²⁴⁵

To commemorate certain important feast days, cities might exhibit public magnanimity, by declaring an amnesty or by liberat-

ing a few prisoners.²⁴⁶ To rejoice in their power and that of their patron, whose holiday it was, the cities of Tuscany and Umbria would ritualize the humiliation and subjugation of their conquered territories by exacting a public renewal of homage. In 1125 the Florentines conquered Fiesole. Symbolically the people of Fiesole were reminded of this fact (and the people of Florence cheered by it) when their representatives, together with those from other subject cities, were annually obliged to present to their municipal lords wax candles of enormous size on the feast of St. John the Baptist.²⁴⁷ The weight of these candles was usually fixed by law in proportion to the significance of the group presenting them.²⁴⁸ Muratori cites the 1327 civic statutes of Modena to show that the Modenesi observed the feast of their St. Geminian (San Geminiano) with a pomp in no way inferior to Florence's exertions for the Baptist. Delegates sent by the inhabitants of villages and settlements in the district had to bring a candle on the vigil of the saint's feast, joining together with the rest of the citizenry:

Et omnes homines Civitatis Mutinae & Burgorum
teneantur in dicta Vigilia Sancti Geminiani
ire ad festum cum reverentia & devotione, cum
cereis & dupleriis in propriis manibus...²⁴⁹

The 1268 statutes of Ferrara imposed analogous obligations on those who could afford it:

Omnis homo de Civitate Ferrariae habens in valentia centum libras imperialium, & a centum supra, teneatur apportare, vel apportari facere in Vigilia Beati Georgii... unum cereum ad matutinum. Et omnes Ordines Civitatis Ferrariae, singuli per se, teneantur similiter de Communitate sua mittere ad Ecclesiam praedictam unum cereum de duabus libris cerae.²⁵⁰

Since wax candles never lost their purely liturgical significance,

their part in a pronouncedly civic ritual serves to underscore the haziness of the division between Christian feast and municipal celebration.

No such ambiguity exists, however, when the more secular manifestations of urban holidays are considered. From the fifteenth century Liège kept the feast of the Three Holy Kings (here celebrated with Epiphany, 6 Jan.) in memory of the defeat of a local demagogue. During the daytime there were amusements, and in the evenings the people clustered around huge coal fires, provided at public expense.²⁵¹ Siena like so many other Italian cities ran a palio on days of civic importance which of course coincided with Christian holidays. For example, a palio for Assumption Day is first mentioned in 1238; and officially ordained in 1310.²⁵² Beginning in 1306, Siena ran a palio in honor of Bl. Ambrose Sansedoni, O.P. (d. 1287) on the 20th of March.²⁵³ Bl. Ambrose was credited with managing to obtain the removal of a papal interdict which had descended upon his Ghibelline fellow townsmen. Believing that in death his protection would continue, the Sienese adopted him as one of their city's patrons.²⁵⁴ This is that St. Ambrose "but not the one from Milan" before whose statue a child-size ex-voto was offered in a Boccaccio tale, set in Siena.²⁵⁵ In 1413, the Sienese magistrates decided to run a palio in honor of St. Peter of Alexandria (martyred 311) because on his feast day a rival political faction had been suppressed. But before the end of the fifteenth century, a political change of direction resulted in a termination of public festivities in St. Peter's honor.²⁵⁶ How easy it was for saints to become immersed in politics; and what

an insecure foundation it was for a cult to claim the exclusive loyalty of a political party, or for a saint to become its political symbol.

Whenever people assemble in large numbers, commercial opportunities exist and merchants are sure to follow. In the early Middle Ages, Sundays and feast days brought people together and also provided a splendid occasion for the exchange of local produce. Markets and fairs developed, sometimes held in cemeteries, churchyards, or even churches, markets which, despite the protests of ecclesiastics, maintained their temporal coincidence with the Christian holy days while progressively suffering eviction from the sacred precincts.²⁵⁷ An ancient and widespread concurrence was that of local feast day and local market.²⁵⁸ The habitual conjunction of local fair and local saint's day makes it still possible for investigators in some Protestant countries to discover the identity of the local patron when every other clue, except for the date of his fair, has vanished.²⁵⁹

The twelfth century saw the rise of the great fairs of Champagne, marking a new era in the history of medieval inter-regional trade. From 1191 several of the major Champagne fairs were grouped in an annual sequence, and this arrangement inaugurates their period of greatest prosperity which would last until the second half of the thirteenth century.²⁶⁰ Count Henry the Liberal in 1154 granted a charter to the Champagne fair of the Holy Innocents at Lagny, which originally began on the Innocents' feast day (28 December); its opening date in the cyclical arrangement became the

2nd of January, a slight displacement, but still within the octave of the feast.²⁶¹ From the later tenth century, if not earlier, pilgrims were drawn to the shrine of St. Ayoul (Aigulfus, martyred c. 676), especially around the saint's day (3 September). In the thirteenth century, the Champagne fair at Provins (Saint-Ayoul) opened on 14 September and closed 1 November.²⁶² Ecclesiastical pressure or commercial exigency might have equally governed the displacements. But no displacement, however slight, is evident in the Lammas^{fair} of the Archbishop of York which began 'in and on the vigil of St. Peter in Chains (31 July) at the same hour when vespers are rung... and... [lasted] until the morrow of St. Peter's (2 August), ending at the same hour.'²⁶³ Already flourishing in 1140, the York Lammas fair was held annually until 1824, always on the days authorized to the Church of St. Peter, York.²⁶⁴

The duration of a fair was evidently variable. The fair of San Geminiano of Modena began three days before the saint's feast and continued for as many days after it,²⁶⁵ while Orvieto's fair of San Severo, which was of immense importance for the economy of both city and contado and which attracted merchants from outside the region, extended for a month, the saint's feast falling at mid-point.²⁶⁶ Throughout the Middle Ages, religious and economic activities often coincided. Fifteenth century pilgrims coming to Assisi to receive the pardon known as the Portiuncula Indulgence (31 July to 2 August) which according to legend, St. Francis had received from the Pope, would immediately encounter a commercial diversion in their path — a thriving fair located in the plain of Santa Maria degli Angeli (29 July to 17 August), nicely timed and

nicely placed for maximum profits.²⁶⁷

On the other hand, commerce repaid its debt of gratitude to the celestial patron whose feast was the original occasion for these profits, by publicizing his name. To advertize a fair was also to advertize its namesake. Thanks to his name being used to designate a successful fair, a saint's fama might travel over a wide area. When in 1401 Gian Galeazzo Visconti, then at the height of his power, sought to unite his old and new subjects within one vast inter-regional market, he invited the merchants of his territories, the Sienese and the Perugians for example, to attend the fair of St. Abundius (Abbondio; d.c.468) at Como. His letter, dated 10 March 1401, commences:

Amici carissimi. Ad nostras antiquas et usualles
nundinas Beati Abbondi confessoris et patroni
civitatis Cumarum, in eadem civitate Cumarum....²⁶⁸

Although it is not too likely that the cult of St. Abundius would gain adherents beyond its usual geographical boundaries as a direct result of advertizing his fair, it is true, nevertheless, that publicity of this kind would diffuse the saint's fama as well as his patronage ties with his city, Como.

But probably the most important economic and social consequence of the festas fori had little to do with markets or fairs. This was the negative background that made so many other forms of holiday behavior possible: the canonical obligation to abstain from certain prohibited kinds of labor for the duration of a prescribed number of major feast days. Occasionally even liturgical calendars take note of this obligation with such comments as

licet [arare] or non licet [arare].²⁶⁹ Most scholars seem to suggest that the ordering of Christian feasts into those requiring strict observance and hence work abstention and those whose celebration was left up to the free piety of the faithful came about as a result of the proliferation of holidays.²⁷⁰ Now Christian holidays have tended historically to follow a pattern of increase and diminution, but it would be most unwise to graph the long period from the early Church to the eve of the Reformation with a single ascending curve, for at several junctures feasts have grown more numerous than desired and some cutting back has occurred.²⁷¹ There exists a good deal of evidence to suggest that the late tenth and early eleventh centuries witnessed a dramatic 'take-off point' for medieval saints' days, as for so much else.²⁷² Then "des jours de fête obligatoire, de plus en plus nombreux, font perdre de vue la mouvement même de l'année liturgique et la précellence de ses grandes dates."²⁷³

It may be strange to hear these remarks applied to such a remote period, since substantially the same comment and criticism will be voiced by holiday reformers of the later Middle Ages. Local synods endeavored to regulate and perhaps limit observances, but the intervention of the centralizing Church in matters of holiday regulation first becomes decisive with the Decretum of Gratian (c.1140).²⁷⁴ Gratian's list of feasts of obligation, modified by the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX (1234) would provide the fundamental roster of mandatory holidays for the universal Church of the later Middle Ages;²⁷⁵ it is not difficult to see this effort to define minimal obligatory holidays as a response

to holiday proliferation. Excluding the temporal feasts and all the holidays associated with Christ or Mary, the saints' days on which Gregory IX prohibits all litigation includes: the feasts of Stephen, John the Evangelist, the Holy Innocents, Sylvester, John the Baptist's nativity, the Twelve Apostles and especially Peter and Paul, Lawrence, Michael's church dedication, All Saints and also holidays "*quas singuli episcopi in suis diocesibus cum clero et populo duxerint solenniter venerandas.*"²⁷⁶ Bishops would therefore be able to add to this extraordinarily short list of universally obligatory saints, those many saints both diocesan and universal, whose feasts were required by immemorial custom or newer devotion. Hence the bulk of observed saints' days could vary according to the province, diocese, or parish, for councils and synods recognized and tolerated cults peculiar to particular local churches.²⁷⁷ Consequently, even when we think of the large category of (universal) saints, whose feasts were commonly kept throughout Christendom, Gregory IX's list of 'feasts of precept' is apt to be misleadingly brief. Synodal legislation, municipal statutes, and local calendars are surer guides to actual practice.

In addition to defining the nature of the prohibited opera servilia, and allowing for the permitted dispensations based on charity and necessity,²⁷⁸ canonists were still faced with a great many customarily observed feasts which came frequently enough for further distinctions to be needed in order to allow the world's work to continue.²⁷⁹ Villien implies that the English solution to this problem established a principle with wide influence: feasts were divided into classes corresponding to the degree or

kind of labor permitted on them, when such labor might begin, and even what sort of person might then be granted leave to work.²⁸⁰

On this last item, it is interesting to cite this thirteenth century English synodal rule:

Hec festa subscripta ferianda sunt ab operibus mulierum: Dies beate Lucie. Dies beate Agnetis virginis. Dies beate Margarete. Dies beate Agathe virginis.²⁸¹

Here the correspondence between the class of agent regulated and the type of saint whose feast is to be kept is striking.

The English lists of festa ferianda which Cheney has conveniently collected are a mixed lot, being neither guides to liturgical practice nor always sure instances of synodal legislation.²⁸² Yet they are invaluable clues to what feasts were considered sufficiently weighty to merit work abstention.²⁸³ Furthermore, the lists are even more remarkable for their conservatism. Very few, a mere handful of new saints gain entry, and these are nearly all English saints. Moreover, the only one of these new saints who gains access to every surviving list from c. 1222 (?) to 1400 is St. Thomas of Canterbury (can. 1173) and the feast of his translation (1220); the attitude of the bishops has rightly been characterized as cautious.²⁸⁴ Edmund Rich, (can. 1246) Hugh of Lincoln (can. 1220), and the translation of St. Thomas Cantelupe (1348) exhaust the recent English saints, while a post-1240 addition (?) to a Worcester list carefully circumscribes the honors paid to some continental immigrants:

Festa sanctorum Dominici, Francisci, et Edmundi confessoris in ecclesiis cum novem leccionibus celebrari volumus; nolumus tamen per hec opera fidelium impediri.²⁸⁵

This desire not to stop work unnecessarily perhaps accounts for the episcopal reluctance to admit new cults to full festa ferianda status. If we look at the "earliest diocesan list of unimpeachable textual accuracy" that of Bath and Wells for 1342, we find a total number of forty-nine feasts mentioned, discounting Sundays, church dedications, etc. Fifteen feasts pertain to Christ or belong to the temporal cycle; five feasts are Marian. The feasts of the saints constitute the remaining twenty-nine, but some of these would fall on Sunday. The only new saint listed is St. Thomas Becket whose regular and translation feasts both appear.²⁸⁶ Thus a 1342 list contains no feast instituted later than 1220. Furthermore, the exiguous evidence available suggests ^{that} the saints whose feasts were most recently established came from among the ancients, not the moderns (e.g. St. Vincent, St. Clement; St. Edmund king and martyr instead of St. Edmund Rich).²⁸⁷

Localization in the English festa ferianda lists is less marked than in an ordinary liturgical calendar; it would be an exaggeration, therefore, to say that these lists constitute a full hagiographic program. Yet a provincial and synodal statute from the fifteenth century Scottish Church is wholly lacking in identifiable local features such as the sprinkling of venerable, non-universal cults (e.g. St. Dunstan) contained in many of the English lists. What we have is merely Gregory IX's roster plus St. Thomas of Canterbury. Of course the dedication feast of individual parish churches is mentioned; and, in Scotland, St. Andrew's feast would be that of a localized universal; but, for example, not one Celtic saint appears. In fact, St. Thomas Becket is the

sole British saint present; except for him, the most modern saint requiring an obligatory rest-day is St. Martin of Tours.²⁸⁸ Surely this Scottish list illustrates a definite and official reluctance to admit new cults. What it certainly does not illustrate, however, is the pattern of actual observances; it is too brief and too general to serve as a faithful mirror of which feasts were locally kept.^{288a}

For Italian holiday behavior and work abstentions, municipal statutes furnish detailed codes of conduct. Indeed, one sometimes gains the impression that the Italian urban law-makers of the period were preoccupied by holiday legislation. As for the saints' days enumerated in these statutes, the selection is frequently both broad enough and sufficiently localized to constitute a valid hagiographic program, and one which offers invaluable evidence of civic choices. The rules usually implicitly or explicitly distinguished between kinds of holidays and outlined the classes of workers or shopkeepers for whom the various regulations would or would not apply.²⁸⁹

Holiday legislation in the Ascoli Piceno statutes of 1377 is distributed among the "statuti del comune" and the "statuti del popolo". The former treats ferial days (le ferie), while the latter handles feast days (le feste). Helpfully, Lanzoni reminds us that "giorni feriati dicevansi nel medioevo i giorni di vacanza dalle occupazioni forensi sia civili sia criminali."²⁹⁰ The ferial days of Ascoli Piceno are "in... civile solo", i.e. civil justice would ⁿot sit, criminal justice would.²⁹¹ Omitting the Marian feasts,

these saints' days are recorded:

Twelve Apostles, Four Evangelists, "Beato Migno /St. Aemygdus/patrone, protectore et defensore de lu comune et del populo Ascolano, con lo di precedente et seguente", Saints Francis, Dominic, Peter Martyr, Augustine /possibly here a local martyr/, Angelo /a church dedication ?/, Michael, Nicholas of Bari, Lawrence, George, Venantius, Leonard, John the Baptist, Onuphrius, Anthony Abbot, Blaise, "Ludovico" /St. Louis or, more probably, St. Louis of Toulouse?/, Thomas Aquinas, Petronella, Lucy, Catherine, Agatha, Mary Magdalene, and Margaret.²⁹²

The saints whose feste appear in the "statuti del popolo" do not include four named in the ferial list (Peter Martyr, Thomas Aquinas, Anthony Abbot, and Petronella) but since ten others appear in their place, the festal list is slightly longer. The additions are:

Benedict, companion of St. Aemygdus, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory, Sylvester, Benedict of Nursia, "Ilio" /Hilarus?/, Pancratius, Beheading of John the Baptist, and Martin.²⁹³

The festal regulations begin by saying that "tucte et singule feste se debiano guardare et con reverentia celebrare de tucte persone," although, soon, wide exemptions for "laboraturi," shopkeepers, and other persons are admitted.²⁹⁴ The standard rites of holiday behavior — gifts to religious; the release of a prisoner; the offering of wax; and the holding of palii — were specified for some of these feasts.²⁹⁵

Hagiographically, the holidays cited in the Ascoli statutes sharply contrast with the British synodal lists examined previously; but such comparisons do not seem especially useful, and it may be best just to comment upon some of the qualities of the Ascoli festi fori. For one thing, the statutes in their range and depth announce a hagiographic program. Universal saints, local saints, titularies of local churches, representatives of the religious

orders active in the town, probably some regional saints — certainly this assortment of cults covers a diversity of interests and loyalties. Older saints are plentiful; yet all in all, the Ascoli program has a transparently modern look about it; the cults seem up-to-date. The most recently canonized saint included (in the ferial days) is Thomas Aquinas (can.1323): the statutes were written fifty-four years later. Plainly the ferial roster reveals a formidable Dominican presence in the town. Furthermore, the Ascoli statutes evidence a process of continued growth in the observed holidays of saints. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries make their contribution. Absent, but not surprisingly so, is any monastic delegation. St.Benedict of Nursia has here no descendants, and the great twelfth century monastic revival leaves no hagiographic imprint on Ascoli Piceno.

To probe somewhat deeper into the whole question of holiday growth in the later Middle Ages, we must, first of all, survey the most common reasons for instituting new festa fori. Although the feast of a church titular would probably not coincide with the anniversary of the consecration of his church, the building of new churches, chapels, or oratories was bound to create new holidays for church and patron alike.²⁹⁶ It is not incongruous, in this regard, that the Legenda aurea concludes with a chapter entitled "de dedicatione ecclesiae".²⁹⁷ Especially in Germany, feasts of church patrons were observed as feasts of obligation.²⁹⁸ Relic feasts comprise another large category — and one in which expansion was necessarily connected to acquisition. Ages in which relics enjoyed brisk circulation, therefore, would likely be ages of

holiday proliferation. A good number of feasts occasioned by an adventus reliquiarum (a susceptio capitis s. Pantaleonis at Cologne ~~one~~ in 1208, for example) were annually commemorated, but it is not always clear whether these feasts were chori or fori.²⁹⁹ In general, the more famous churches and abbeys had been well stocked with relics since early medieval times, and often already had a prescribed annual feast in honor of their own holdings;³⁰⁰ so they were far from anxious to institute new relic holidays, which tended to be confined to more obscure houses eager to promote their new opportunities for popular favor and financial reward.³⁰¹ Of course, new luster could be conferred on existing cults, and new holidays subsequently generated, through arranging relic translations to more elegant reliquaries.

Outside events could always affect the festal calendar. Miracles, obviously, were worthy of commemoration and in the past had often earned a place in the liturgy.³⁰² In the later Middle Ages, Eucharistic miracles would be among the most successful instances. If one extends the notion of miracle to any desirable event which God's providence brings into being, then political actions, in a later medieval context to be sure, would be a potent source of new holidays. In these cases, the day on which the event occurs is all-important; the persona of the saint counts for little, since the outcome verifies the benevolence of God's servant towards the victorious group. Ordinarily, in the later Middle Ages, whether or not observed as feasts, most days were associated with a saint. Hence the saint called into prominence by the happy events was likely not to be unknown, though possibly obscure, but was not

likely to be a new saint. Since the calendar favored remoter times, the saint whom political activity thrust into new public regard was apt to be an old-universal. It could be that such a saint would have had an established feast; if so, however, that feast would now take on immediate local significance. The universal saint would be effectively localized. The cult of St. Lucy in Orvieto became important locally when, on the night of the saint, one exiled political faction re-captured the city from another. Every year the feast of St. Lucy was solemnly celebrated by the commune in memory of that event.³⁰³ Yet the promoters of new, still unestablished cults might use these occasions to prove the sanctity and potency of their candidates. In the urban Christianity of later medieval Italy such occurrences either increased the value of old feasts or led to the institution of new ones.

Holidays could be instituted through the direct wishes of ecclesiastics or the powerful pressure of secular magnates. The Papacy created and helped to diffuse new feasts of Christ and Mary throughout the later medieval period. By issuing indulgences for certain feasts and promulgating Jubilees, it was able to make some days or years more religiously important, more sacred than they has hitherto been; and, correspondingly, to devalue other times. Thus in a Bull of 3 October 1472, Sixtus IV made the feast of St. Francis a holiday of obligation.³⁰⁴ By formally reserving to himself the right to canonize saints, the pope was, in effect, helping to bring the institution of new holidays more directly under his control. Papal canonization, however, did not establish new saints' days throughout Christendom. The problem of the diffusion

of cult in the later Middle Ages will be taken up in its proper place; here, it suffices to say that many cults did not travel very far;³⁰⁵ that some cults only travelled after a considerable interval had elapsed; and that cult, although implying liturgical commemoration, does not necessarily mean anything more than festa chori rank. Nevertheless, newly canonized saints would be venerated somewhere — certainly on their home grounds. Those who had gone to the great expense and considerable legal trouble of securing their cause would see to that. Each new saint canonized was consequently bound to lead^{to} a new holiday observance somewhere. Nor was it impossible for the canonization day itself to be kept annually, quite independently of the saint's day.

As for Bishops, it should be recalled that only in 1642 did they canonically lose the right to institute new feasts within the limits of their dioceses,³⁰⁶ a right which the Decretals of Gregory IX had formally conceded to them.³⁰⁷ Indeed, at many epochs in the Christian past, the cult of saints was fundamentally a local or diocesan concern.³⁰⁸ In the later Middle Ages, when so much depended upon the local reception of new feasts and cults, the personal devotions of the bishop could count for a good deal. Also, his membership in a religious order might play a part in welcoming a sanctified confrère. Alternatively, his disapproval of, say, the mendicant orders, might retard or exclude the veneration of their saints. Temporal advantages, too, cannot be forgotten. New cults could mean new revenues,³⁰⁹ especially if they were local cults.

Secular potentates had their own reasons for encouraging particular holidays. When the Angevins of Hungary replaced the Angevins of France in Southern Italy, the officially promoted cult of St. Louis did not suffer from the change of dynasty. In the early fifteenth century, King Ladislas commanded all the larger towns of his Neapolitan realm to celebrate the feast of St. Louis.³¹⁰ Henry III of England in 1231 petitioned the Cistercian order to allow all its English abbeys to celebrate the feast of St. Edward.³¹¹ The Cistercians in 1302, acceded to another royal petition on behalf of another royal saint, but this time a saint who was a martyr: the King of Bohemia thus obtained a commemoration for St. Wenceslaus, his predecessor on the Bohemian throne.^{311a}

With any particular saint, the interplay of general and specific circumstances in the establishment and diffusion of new holidays was liable to be quite complex. A brief case study should illustrate this. Feasts in honor of St. Anne were still highly exceptional in the thirteenth century;³¹² during the course of the fourteenth century her cult develops, becoming immensely popular in the closing years of the fifteenth century. On St. Anne's day, 1343, the Florentines expelled their would-be tyrant Walter de Brienne, Duke of Athens. Thereafter, the Florentines kept St. Anne's day as a public holiday. A fresco in the Bargello, attributed to the school of Giotto, depicts the saint bestowing banners upon the militia of the city with her right hand and protecting the Palazzo Vecchio (and thus safeguarding the liberties of Florence) with her left hand.³¹³ When Richard II of England married Anne of Bohemia in 1382, Pope Urban VI ordered the universal ob-

servance of the feast of the feast of St. Anne.³¹⁴ The high politics of the Great Schism and the cult of saints intersect at this point. England recognized Urban, and Wenzel, King of Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor, was a wholehearted supporter of the Roman pope.³¹⁵ Promotion of St. Anne's cult would not only popularize Richard and Anne's marriage;³¹⁶ it would also symbolize the union of Urban's allies. To cite a third instance, Victor Leroquais has studied an unusual book of hours (dated c.1480), whose features indicate that its owner was a rich citizen of Mâcon, a lawyer perhaps. The book is suffused with evidence of religious sentiment towards St. Anne — miniatures, suffrages, and a very rare set of her 'hours'. Thanks to his detective-like skills, Leroquais brilliantly relates the spirituality of the MS. to the institution of a feast of St. Anne in the diocese of Mâcon. The Bishop of Mâcon, Stephen Hugonet, was especially devoted to the saint. In 1452, he established her feast in his diocese, also founding a chapel dedicated to her in his cathedral, where in 1472 he was interred.³¹⁷

The Florentines in 1343, Urban IV in 1382, and Bishop Hugonet in 1452 do not, it is true, stand for more than three representative moments in the cult of St. Anne. To account for the rise of a cult as successful as hers, one would need to grapple with factors less tangible than political accident or episcopal fiat. Marian sentiment was involved. St. Anne was, after all, the Mater Matris. The connection between the growing cult of St. Anne and popular devotion towards her daughter's Immaculate Conception, reasonable on the face of it, can be historically demonstrated.³¹⁸ In the fifteenth century, moreover, interest in the Virgin's family begins to grow,

encompassing St. Anne,³¹⁹ who, popularly believed to have been thrice married,³²⁰ was also a patroness of matronly, wifely, and motherly virtues.³²¹ The same domestic feelings which would underlie the roughly contemporary, late fifteenth century cult of the Holy Family would seem to have operated here, if from a slightly different perspective — dynastic instead of nuclear.

As the cult of St. Anne grew steadily in popularity, her feast became more widely accepted, and in some places it doubtless joined and helped to swell the number of festa fori. This success story was not altogether typical of the individual careers of later medieval saints, comparatively few of whom matched the scale of her achievement. Interestingly enough, St. Anne was an old universal saint who began to acquire a new universal cult in the declining Middle Ages. Despite the unique features of St. Anne's cult, one point emerges clearly. New cults continued to be adopted in the later medieval centuries. New cults meant new holidays. New holidays, some pertaining to Christ, or the Virgin, some to the saints, tended to increase absolutely in the western Church. Vigils,³²² and octaves too,³²³ multiplied as well, sometimes swelling work abstentions. It is just this picture of overall holiday proliferation which makes the chorus of later medieval criticism understandable. To be sure, the situation country by country and region, must have varied greatly.³²⁴

Germany seems to have been one part of Europe which felt this inflation of holidays quite intensely; in fact, for Germany "no other period saw so many feast days and processions" as did the

eve of the Reformation.³²⁵ It would be worthwhile, if space permitted, to examine the nature of these feasts. How well were new saints, either local or imported cults, represented? One writer suggests that more and more old festa chori cults were being raised to festa fori status,³²⁶ a process involving proliferation without real innovation.

For the diocese of Cologne, Zilliken's study is thought-provoking. The rate of calendar growth in the later medieval period shows a marked falling off — new imports slump drastically by the close of the twelfth century, the same period in which papal canonization and the creation of other new feasts begin to monopolize entry into the Cologne calendar. Nevertheless, in absolute terms, the number of saints continues to increase, albeit slowly. New arrivals enter chiefly through papal canonizations, but usually after a considerable delay (e.g. St. Elizabeth of Hungary, can. 1235, is first cited in the fourteenth century). Yet there are also new local feast days to celebrate relic translations and to honor old local saints, and old universal saints.³²⁷ Zilliken's examination of Cologne festa fori is less satisfactory because of his heavy reliance upon synodal prescriptions, which as he admits, often have no ascertainable bearing on practice. His conclusions are that the fourteenth century witnessed the "high point" of later medieval development in Cologne with little subsequent expansion so far as saints' feasts are concerned.³²⁸

A sense of contradiction, of paradox almost, seems to mingle with the outrage of later medieval holiday critics:

that which was prepared as a summary of devotion is made into a heap of dissipation, since upon these holy-days the tavern is rather worshipped than the Church, gluttony and drunkenness are more abundant than tears and prayers...³²⁹

The theme is taken up repeatedly: what was intended to be a sacred time has become profaned, desecrated by innumerable abuses. The feast of the saint occasions more sin than piety; indeed, the work-day is observed in a more Christian fashion.³³⁰ Irreverence was certainly not limited to the blasphemous buffoonery connected with the interval from the feast of St. Nicholas (6 December) to the octave of the Holy Innocents (4 January), which included the much condemned Feast of Fools (circa January 1st), denounced by the Council of Basle in 1435.³³¹ "Sins are the more multiplied on holy days"³³² could stand as a comprehensive indictment by critics and reformers.

Out of the very nature of sacred holiday observances, or so it seemed, were engendered the sorts of profane behavior most subversive of the holiday ideal. Such behavior gave grounds for moral complaint. Trading was carried on well beyond canonical definitions of 'necessity' or perishable goods. Noise, intrusions into church precincts, and, most of all, a wordly atmosphere resulted.³³³ The customs and rites of holidays led to brawls and disorder. Bishop Grosseteste saw the processions of the various parishes, each with the banner of their saint, going off to the cathedral church on holidays as fomenting "non solum lites, sed crudeles sanguinis effusiones" because of arguments over who was to take precedence.³³⁴ Even when violence did not result from large crowds and excessive

drink, rowdy and boisterous games threatened to destroy the solemnity of the day — or so Erasmus and many preachers before him maintained.³³⁵

In his sermon to the council of Rheims in 1408 Gersen protested against improper deportment on holidays, but added another strong criticism which was by no means a new one: holidays were a misery to the poor.³³⁶ Humbert de Romans had said as much in 1274.³³⁷ Medieval society could rarely offer continuous employment anyway,³³⁸ but to impose work abstentions when labor was scarce and harvests pressing; and when for many there was no margin separating subsistence from starvation, imposed a heavy burden. A poor man approached the Piovano Arlotto on the morning of St. Luke's Day and asked him: "Piovano, guardasi oggi questa festa?" The Piovano looked at his interlocutor, considered, and replied: "Hai tu pane in casa?" "Messer no." Then the Piovano said: "Va lavora, ché per te non è comandato oggi."³³⁹ Given such need, there were frequent transgressions of the prohibition on servile work; St. Antonino, the Dominican archbishop of Florence (d.1459, can.1523), regarded peasant holiday breakers with great severity.³⁴⁰ To a pious businessman like Gregorio Dati, however, the holiday infractions which economic activity necessarily demanded, brought paroxysms of guilt and painful resolutions of reform.³⁴¹

Bad behavior on their holidays gave the saints a bad name. Orthodox reformers and critics, synods and councils were quick to say that their strictures against holiday immorality, economic distress, or canonical transgression implied no disrespect towards

the saints themselves. But those churchmen and dissenters who sought to curb the number of new holidays inevitably wished to see a curtailment in canonizations; and those who favored a restriction or down-grading of holidays already established could not always refrain from casting aspersions upon the status of the saints whose days were under discussion. Ecclesiastical tradition, of course, was a powerful antagonist to innovation of any sort. If the church fathers had not authorized these feasts, some would argue, then as superfluous novelties they ought to be discarded.³⁴² This argument would become weightier as the early church loomed larger in Christian imaginations. Potho (fl.1152) had used it at a time when an apostolic enthusiasm was starting to gain converts.³⁴³ Liturgical conservatism was also enlisted. New feasts meant new rituals, requiring new hymns and prayers which frequently made use of apocryphal material while omitting scripture. All of this was objectionable. Both Pierre d'Ailly (d.1420) and Nicolas de Clémanges (d.1437?) thought that such novelties in the ritual were unwarranted and undesirable.³⁴⁴ Perhaps the third point of attack was the most damaging, for it was based on first principles. Holidays ought to increase devotion. They should be religious occasions on which the love of God is fostered. If this primary purpose was not served, holidays were valueless. Wyclif took this view.³⁴⁵

Although Waldensians and Hussites rejected saints' days out of hand, Wyclif, while rating them far below Sunday in importance, was not adverse to distinguishing between earlier and latter day saints, to the benefit of the former.³⁴⁶ Newer saints were bound to be the first targets for radical and conservative assaults.

Felix Hemmerlin (d.c.1460) was horrified that the canons of Zurich were prepared to accept money donated in order to have the feast of St.Francis, who was a mere confessor, celebrated with the same pomp as was accorded to the feast of the great St.John the Baptist.³⁴⁷ The Franciscans had never lacked enemies and a good deal earlier had encountered similar opponents.³⁴⁸ New saints deprived of the support of an international order, might find it difficult to secure a public feast day in this climate. Even local saints would have to fight hard to establish more than a commemoration for themselves.

From the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, individual bishops had defied custom and abolished holidays formerly kept within their respective dioceses.³⁴⁹ Occasionally diocesan reforms had been requested by church councils.³⁵⁰ Yet retrenchment was alleged to be an isolated phenomenon. Early fifteenth century reformers like Nicholas de Clémanges suggested that proliferation was the general rule, with the feasts of modern saints being rapidly adopted by many dioceses.³⁵¹

Reformers understandably magnify the evils they describe. Certainly the rate of growth in holidays as depicted by Clémanges seems exaggerated, although in dioceses without firm control aberrations could easily occur. New saints, after all, were still being canonized. Moreover, popular custom might dictate far more feasts of older saints than the canonical minimum obliged.³⁵² Without the necessary regional studies, it is impossible to make precise judgements about relative holiday growth rates in European

dioceses. But to reformers the situation appeared dangerous, and the conciliar movement gave them an opportunity to present their case.³⁵³ The outcome proved disheartening to them in this as in other matters. Nothing concrete emerged from Constance where the holiday recommendations put forward by its committee on reform were careful, moderate, reasonable, and remained a dead-letter, of academic interest alone. The Council of Basle condemned the Feast of Fools.³⁵⁴

Speaking about holidays in the sixth century, Beck has suggested that "perhaps it was the very rarity of the feasts which gave them their appeal and made pastors... look upon them as potent forces for inspirational guidance."³⁵⁵ Rarity and potency may indeed be related. If so, the later medieval inflation of holidays corresponds quite well to their prevailing religious devaluation, which critics and reformers grasped and decried. The theory of saints' days implied the logical priority of the saint over the portion of time consecrated to his memory and to his cult. Yet the saint who served as the pretext for the holiday could be cast aside in order to make that holiday more festive. The aldermen of Mardyck in the Low Countries were displeased that their parish feast, St. Nicholas's day, fell on the 6th of December, when the climate interfered with tourism and merrymaking. So when Nicholas of Tolentino was canonized in 1446 and his feast was made the 10th of September, the aldermen, overjoyed, petitioned their bishop to exchange their old, cold patron St. Nicholas for a new warmer one of the same name. The bishop refused, but the people went ahead. Henceforth Mardyck kept the 10th of September, despite

the fact that their titular patron remained officially unaltered.³⁵⁶
The holiday was indispensable, not the saint.

Too much ought not to be made of instances of this kind, or of arguments that the nature of time itself changed in the later Middle Ages. Time may well have grown more worldly, become laicized or "a system for ordering things" while, as the values of this world crowded in, something difficult to signify was crowded out.³⁵⁷ But to demonstrate such things one needs more than communal clock towers announcing a so-called "temps du marchand",³⁵⁸ or secularized saints' days. In Rabelais's century around a hundred days of the year were still known by their saint's name.³⁵⁹ Even in Protestant Scotland, the holidays of saints did not utterly vanish. Until the eighteenth century there was an annual St. Monoch's day procession in Stevenson, Ayrshire on October 30th; and until about 1760 the town cross of Culross was garlanded with flowers on St. Serf's day.³⁶⁰ Custom can develop a life of its own which can outlast the principles behind its own beginning.

The weight of tradition is overpowering, when one examines some randomly sampled calendars of the waning medieval centuries. In these calendars, the hagiographic program is almost totally composed of distant heroes. Compared to these figures of remoter eras, the saints canonized from 1200 onwards have not made a great impression.

In a Westminster Abbey calendar dating from the second half of the fifteenth century, a total of 228 saints appear, only three

of whom (translation of St. Thomas Becket, translations of St. Edward King and martyr (1269), and St. Edmund of Canterbury) come from our period (i.e. 1.3%).³⁶¹ A 1452 calendar ^{from} ~~from~~ a South German cloister (Franciscan or with Franciscan associations) lists 251 saints, of whom five (St. Elizabeth of Hungary and her translation, St. Claire, St. Louis of Toulouse, St. Francis: all Franciscans) post-date 1200 (i.e. 2%).³⁶² Our last, most crowded, and most recent calendar introduces "what is believed to be the first printed edition of the Roman Missal" published in Milan in 1474.³⁶³ The relative inclusiveness of papally canonized saints does show a tie with Rome, but the calendar displays more than a few Milanese features, as well as a horror of blank days. Out of a total of 425 saints, 13 or 3% are from the later medieval centuries (Saints Gilbert of Sempringham, Peter Celestine, translation of Thomas Becket, Dominic, Claire, Roch, Louis of Toulouse, Nicholas of Tolentino, Elzear, Francis, Louis, Edmund of Canterbury, Elizabeth of Hungary). There probably exist some calendars with a slightly higher proportion of new saints.³⁶⁴ But even from such a limited sample, one cannot affirm that the calendar has ceased to grow; only that its rate of growth has slowed perceptibly.

Never an antiquarian document, the liturgical calendar of the late fifteenth century has become increasingly archaic in its overall roster of saints.

Manifestations of Cult: Shrines.

Holy places — hallowed ground, sanctified houses of God, holy cities — were a part of the world into which Christianity came.

Historical association with the life and death of Christ made Palestine a Christian terra sancta. Also, contact with a holy man, whether historically demonstrable or legendary, sanctified springs, groves, and mountains in many parts of Europe. A fundamental instance of this process of making a place holy by contact with a saint may be seen with the martyrs. The tombs of the martyrs were loca sanctorum. To them, Christians came to pray on the anniversary of the saint; near them, Christians eagerly sought the privilege of their own burial; over them, many of the greatest shrines of Christendom would be constructed.³⁶⁵

Legend would constantly embellish the theme of the closeness of saints to their shrines. One hagiographic motif is the dream which tells a saint where to build his church, as when St. Norbert was confirmed in his choice of a place called Prémontré in the forest of Voas, by a vision of white-robed men bearing crosses; here, he would found his order of canons.³⁶⁶ In St. Romuald's dream the base of Jacob's ladder touched the spot which eventually became the home of the Camaldolese.³⁶⁷ A variation of this motif is the apparition of the saint to a future founder, instructing him where the saint's church should be located.³⁶⁸

For the dedication of his church is something in which, according to hagiography, the saint takes a personal interest. A thirteenth century legend describes the dedication of Saint-Denis in the Paris of King Dagobert. During the vigils of the consecration ceremony, a leper, shut up in the church for the night in the hope of a cure, sees Jesus, various saints, and St. Denis himself

bless the walls, performing, in other words, the service of dedication.³⁶⁹ And since the royal abbey of England could not, in any way be inferior to that of France, St. Peter similarly informs Mellitus, bishop of London:

I have hallowed the church of Westminster this night... and I shall be patron of that church, and visit it oftentimes, and bear in the sight of Almighty God the prayers and devotions of true Christian people that pray in that place.....³⁷⁰

Formal consecration of a church canonically required the presence of a bishop, but even in the sacramental rites the historical association of saints and churches was preserved.³⁷¹

The second Council of Nicaea in 787 decreed that relics had to be used in consecrating churches and if a bishop violated this decree he was to be deposed.³⁷² Of course, relics of the church patron were not always available. Yet they would always be desired, and this wish to acquire the relics of the church titulary, when at all possible, would help to promote a thriving circulation of relics during periods of new church foundations. To the sacramental consecration of the church was then added the sanctifying presence of the saint; indeed, churches and chapels, oratories in great houses, like the early Christian martyrium basilicas, could themselves be reliquaries, built to house the relics of the saints.³⁷³ Because the idea of sacrifice was common both to the offering of the Eucharist and the martyr's death, tomb and altar were brought together until altars were erected over the martyr's grave. Church law finally came to insist upon relics being placed within the altar in a container sometimes called the sepulcrum.³⁷⁴ Thus the altar was a tomb as well as a table; and the altar patron might very well

be a saint other than the titular of the church as a whole.

When H.H. Milman wrote that "the history of Latin Christianity may be traced in its more favored saints,"³⁷⁵ he was probably not alluding to place-names. Yet, nowadays, many people ignorant of that history live amidst a conspicuous archaeological record testifying to the importance of the medieval cult of saints. Church dedications of course, but also street names, wells, even the names of villages and cities provide toponymic proof of the currency of veneration. The 1902 statistics on French townships assigned one-eight of them prefixes originally stemming from dominus or sanctus, that is, in the majority of instances, bearing a saint's name. Towards the close of the sixth century in France, the usage began of naming settlements after saints.³⁷⁶

To study the cult of saints in relation to toponymy and especially to church, chapel, and altar dedications, a comparatively new field has grown up usually called Patrozinienforschung.³⁷⁷ Specialists tend to be folklorists or toponymists. By minute investigations, choosing one saint or several, most often within a carefully delimited territory, these scholars expend prodigious amounts of energy in mapping the distribution of toponymic indices of cult. Chronological data is obviously crucial, for discovering when a given church or settlement can first be documented holding a particular saint's name establishes at least a rough guideline to his cult in the area.³⁷⁸ Because surviving information may be poor, to "the oldest mention of a saint" must always be added the words "which has been preserved."³⁷⁹ Patrozinienforschung

as it develops a greater interest in explaining why veneration prospered or cult was promoted, is a field which promises to enrich hagiography with concrete data out of which, hopefully, fruitful hypotheses will emerge.³⁸⁰

But the use of dedications is a hazardous business. Many of the older syntheses are simply not sufficiently reliable for accurate work.³⁸¹ Furthermore, to say that "the shape of medieval religious enthusiasm is, in some part, outlined by church dedications"³⁸² may be unintentionally misleading, for church dedications, the selection of a titular or patron, ordinarily did not rest with the people, but instead rested with the clergy or, possibly, the lay founders.³⁸³ One must always ask, whose enthusiasm does the choice reflect? The choice in fact, might reflect the taste of monastic or secular clergy, or lay lords, quite foreign to the environs of the new shrine, as would be the case, in many instances, with the daughter cell of a monastic house.

Placing such a new, transplanted dedication within the context of a local program would be bound to cause a misinterpretation of local sentiment at the epoch of the cult's introduction. Moreover, some choices primarily indicate spiritual identity or even assert a political or proprietary relationship. No one would find it curious to see a Benedictine house placed under the patronage of St. Benedict. Analogously, the Venetians built churches dedicated to St. Mark wherever they settled in their mercantile colonies.³⁸⁴ In the ninth century, Bishop Hildegism of Halberstadt built thirty-five churches during his episcopate, putting all of them under the

title of St. Stephen, patron of his cathedral.³⁸⁵ To be sure, the rising popularity of a saint, stirred perhaps by a new legenda,³⁸⁶ or the acquisition of a relic, could determine patronage choices. Yet, it is clear that dedications demand fairly sophisticated handling if any religious message is to be extracted from them.³⁸⁷

Another complication is the replacement of an original patron by a new one. There could be many reasons for this,³⁸⁸ but characteristically the opportunity for a change occurred when a church was being reconstructed or enlarged.³⁸⁹ A famous incident of replacement concerns the eclipse of St. Reparata of Florence, seemingly at one time patron of the cathedral.³⁹⁰ More common than substitutions, however, was the compounding of dedications, creating multiple patronages. Besides the traditional compounds like Peter and Paul, joint liturgical celebration, local associations, and simple historical accretion produced many other multiple church dedications.³⁹¹ For example, in 1127 the small church of St. Eutropius of Faenza was rebuilt, leaving this memorial:

in honor of Saints Eutropius bishop, Aegidius abbot, and Mercurius, Gratianus, Marcus, Ger-vasius, Protasius, John, Marcellus, Sixtus, Barbara, and of the Blessed Virgin Mary.³⁹²

With such a string of patrons, it is tempting to look for analogies in the multiplication of feudal homages. In the liturgy, the litany also invokes a long series of saints, but classifies and orders them by rank and type and would never, as this multiple dedication does, terminate with the Virgin.

Later medieval churchmen fully grasped that church and settlement dedications were significant indices of cult. Prior Wessington

of Durham, in the early fifteenth century, was so impressed by the extent of St.Cuthbert's dedications that he attempted to compile a list of them, as a way of paying tribute to his monastery's revered patron.³⁹³ Dating from 1304-11, the Liber notitiae Sanctorum Mediolani is an admittedly exceptional inventory for medieval Italy. To its notices of the saints honored in the diocese of Milan are appended the corresponding memoria ecclesiarum et altariorum, taken from the local sources.³⁹⁴ If an unusual instance, the Milanese Liber still symbolizes a relationship which was comprehended.

In some respects, the new saints of the later Middle Ages were at a disadvantage so far as toponymy was concerned. Europe's habitations were, for the most part, named. Also, many of the great churches of Christendom were either already built and dedicated, or, if in the process of construction, usually consigned to the Virgin or a traditional patron.³⁹⁵ The well-known time-lag between the growth of a cult and its diffusion meant, in addition, that more recent saints would tend to be inadequately represented.³⁹⁶ Furthermore, old saints enjoying a new cult would be relatively ignored by the pattern of church dedications.³⁹⁷

St.Anne is a good example here, although as a specialist patron of cemeteries, she came to rival and even to surpass St.Michael.^{397a} This matter of the specialist patronage of sacred places deserves at least passing notice. It was not a new phenomenon. St.John the Baptist, for instance, was usually patron of baptistries. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, just as St.Catherine of Alexandria was normally patron of hospital chapels, so St.George

regularly became patron of chapels in castles.^{397b} The impact of such nearly automatic dedication choices would be to restrict still further the range of opportunities open to new later medieval saints.

Since a fair proportion of churches built in the later medieval period would be for the use of the new mendicant orders, one would expect to see mendicant saints as titularies, and one does. A church dedicated to St. Francis appeared in Venice in 1253, while St. Dominic had to wait until 1317 for his Venetian church to be erected.³⁹⁸ Canonizations had an impact. Following the canonization of St. Dominic, Orvieto's church of Santa Maria della Pace was renamed San Domenico.³⁹⁹ In Scotland, except for five chapels dedicated to St. Roch, the later medieval ecclesiastical dedications to new, foreign saints overwhelmingly tended to benefit the mendicants — St. Francis, St. Peter Martyr, St. Catherine of Siena, and, doubtless, St. Dominic.⁴⁰⁰

A catalogue of later medieval church dedications would clarify the situation. Of primary importance in such a work would be chapel and altar dedications, for both chapels and altars proliferated in the course of the Middle Ages, as a result of individual and group endowments and the multiplication of masses.⁴⁰¹ The foundation of private chapels and altars means that their dedications might have been relatively freer of clerical selection than most churches would have been, and so these dedications, whether to old or new patrons, might help to elucidate the rôle of guilds, confraternities, families, and individual donors in the promotion of the cult of saints.⁴⁰²

Historical association, sacramental consecration and dedication, possession of appropriate relics: all would fix a saint to a given spot, make him, in other words, the saint of that place. The saint's name would be attached to a geographical area making it the terra sancti Benedicti or the patrimonium sancti Petri.⁴⁰³ The limits of the saint's authority would be defined, circumscribed, as when in 1463 a Pomeranian bishop designated St. Faustus "ecclesie et totius nostre diocesis patronus."⁴⁰⁴ Together with his name, the saint's identity would be stamped upon his shrine or territory. An ancient document calls the cathedral of Assisi "casa beati Rufini" and the tympanum of the main portal of that cathedral represents the martyr St. Rufino in his chasuble, with a book in his hand, alongside Christ. According to a late legend, the church bearing St. Rufino's name arose over his translated relics.⁴⁰⁵ The saint was, furthermore, the possessor of his church's property; until the twelfth century, he was, in Netherlandish law, "a juristic person".⁴⁰⁶ In English law, gifts in frankalmoin or free alms were made, for example, "to God and St. Benet of Ramsey" and Bracton implies that land so given "is outside the sphere of merely human justice."⁴⁰⁷ Consequently, a late fourteenth century life of St. Cuthbert concludes:

Terras Cuthberti qui non spoliare verentur,
Esse queant certi quod morte mala morientur.⁴⁰⁸

It is easy to see, therefore, given this strong bond between a saint and a place, how the locative in a saint's title (St. X of Y) is much deeper than identification; how this locative bond signifies to the inhabitants of a localized medieval world, the saint's rootedness in their soil.

A prayer entitled "Pro loco nostro" appears in a breviary written in the second half of the thirteenth century for the Abbey of Faremoutiers. The prayer solicits the protection of the saints, and especially the patron St. Fara, "custodi locum istum cum habitatoribus suis."⁴⁰⁹

In return for their protection, saints were rewarded with a public cult. But comparatively few saints received special veneration everywhere. For the most part, it was only in certain particular localities that the cult of a given saint would enjoy high public favor. Thus Philippe de Mézières, beginning the last paragraph of the epilogue to his vita of St. Peter Thomas (d. 1366, at Cyprus) writes: "Igitur Catholici orientales, et specialiter Cyprienses, gaudete, exaltate, et psallite..."⁴¹⁰ Where a saint died was where the earliest signs of devotion to him might be expected. Where his grave and his relics resided would be "der Schwerpunkt der Verehrung," the cult's center of gravity.⁴¹¹ Perhaps a cult would develop where the saint was born, lived, worked, or even where he was canonized.⁴¹² But, as Delchaye says, "la vraie patrie du saint" is the place where he died and his remains rested.⁴¹³

Medieval saints, even those known and venerated throughout Christendom, were, first of all, local saints. So-called universal saints began as, or quickly became, local saints. By the fifth century, Saints Peter and Paul were just as closely tied up with the destiny of Rome as Romulus and Remus had been.⁴¹⁴ The rise of the Gregorian papacy sees the vexillum sancti Petri flying everywhere, a symbol of papal Romanitas.⁴¹⁵ The universality of

the cult of St. Peter and the importance of his territorial protectorate were intertwined. Paradoxically, it seems that cult diffusion to some extent could be a measure of a saint's local influence.⁴¹⁶

Here, naturally, the reputation of the saint's place of cult would also be a determining factor. Whether by accident or design, major centers often had major saints as leading patrons: St. John the Baptist and Florence; St. Ambrose and Milan; The Three Kings and Cologne. Of course these saints were adopted, localized elsewhere too. Nevertheless, in people's minds the association of a saint with his most famous shrine was likely to be indelible. An extraordinary illustration of this mental outlook is a fourteenth century litany, evidently written by some pious sailor, which for the most part follows a geographical order, linking saint and shrine so closely that the saint's homeland is, as it were, incorporated into his persona. Quite probably, in composing the litany, its author made use of some portolan maps or other navigational itineraries, for the nearly one hundred and fifty invocations of saints make up a hagiographic grand tour of the Mediterranean — including Greece and Egypt — and the Atlantic, usually hugging the coastline but sometimes penetrating the interiors. The invocations are phrased 'May God help us and St. So-and-so of such-and-such': "Die nai e san Marco di Vinegia," "Die nai e Santo Sidro /St. Isidore/ de Scio /Chios/.⁴¹⁷ The locative attribute, the shrine, fuses with the saint himself.

It was at his shrine where the power of the saint was most

apt to be experienced. Grave-side behavior was tinged with the expectation of the miraculous, especially when the cult of the saint was in a highly active phase. Intense expectation and excitement would usually commence as soon as the saint died. Perhaps the body was exposed in an open bier, surrounded by burning tapers: the crowd tries to touch it or to obtain some relics.⁴¹⁸ The body is to be interred within the church. "Non in claustro, sed volumus quod in ecclesia, sepeliatur, quia sancta est," the people exclaim at the burial of Bl. Margaret of Città di Castello (d.1320).⁴¹⁹ The tomb of the saint becomes the veritable focus of the cult, a site for the early miracles which stimulate veneration and foreshadow canonization, if the saint is fortunate. So, people flocked to the shrine of St. Elizabeth at Marburg; they smeared earth from her grave over their ailments; they laid the sick on top of her tombstone; they implored the saint, and threatened her; they made vows, and offered a little money or some wax. The deposition of 1233 (two years prior to the saint's canonization) records these practices as evidence of popular devotion.⁴²⁰

Wax cannot be ignored as a manifestation of cult. Either in the form of candles or votive offerings, it helps to furnish the shrine and to demonstrate in the most tangible fashion that the saint has a devoted clientage. In the later Middle Ages, not only the grave site might be illumined, but also images, reliquaries, and saints' altars.⁴²¹ If the bequests of wax are any indication, sixteenth century English saints' altars must have been ablaze with light.⁴²² For the shrine of St. Richard (d.1253, can.1262), the Bishop of Chichester in 1270 insisted on

ten square candles... to burn on feasts of the first rank, and two round candles for the same shrine, and a third at the tomb of the aforesaid saint, and nine round candles about the tomb, each weighing two pounds, to burn on festivals of the first, second, and third rank ... burning continuously day and night.⁴²³

Ex-votos were another visible and prominent sign of cult. Given out of thanks for favors received or in expectation of favors to come, like the use of candles in veneration, older than Christianity,⁴²⁴ votive objects of every sort could be found at a saint's shrine in the later Middle Ages. Models of legs, arms, heads, perhaps manufactured to the exact size of the real part of the body cured or in need of curing, frequently adorned the area near the grave site.⁴²⁵ The weight of life-sized ex-votos endangered the roof of St. Annunciata in Florence,⁴²⁶ where in a later medieval tale an English visitor is much scandalized by the practice of selling already suspended ones, which become the buyer's after a payment and a ceremonial touch of ownership.⁴²⁷ In a fifteenth century woodcut, votive offerings to King Henry VI of England are depicted. Suspended in a recess or chapel, the items included "a model of a ship, a chain with fetters, a shirt, a pair of crutches, and a tablet (of wax?) with an inscription." A glance at the miracula of Henry VI explains these votive objects.^{427a}

Because the grave of the saint was a potent area where miraculous healing was not uncommon, the practice of incubation was widespread. Now some scholars would deny the application of this term (known less ambiguously in German as Tempelschlaf) to Christian experience, arguing that the Church did not institutionalize it, that no elaborate pagan-style rituals preceded it, and that the

intent to spend the night in the church in expectation of a cure cannot be shown.⁴²⁸ These arguments were an understandable but ^{polemical} ~~potential~~ reaction to a school of thought which delighted in viewing Christian incubation as a simple pagan survival.^{488a} No one denies, however, that sick people passed the night in shrines and emerged cured in the morning, frequently after having been graced with a vision or dream in which the patron saint appeared.⁴²⁹ Neapolitan translatio and miracula accounts of the eighth to tenth centuries have been carefully studied, and indisputably the writers of these accounts record a predictable behavior pattern.

The saint comes as a doctor, prescribing or curing. The cure is effected, for the most part, in the saint's church and near his tomb, while the sick person sleeps. There may be a number of cure-seekers in the church; and some of them have passed up to a month on the saint's home grounds.⁴³⁰ Learned articles have elaborated subtly different, classical or Christian, historical modes of incubation;⁴³¹ yet for the later medieval period these distinctions and genetic arguments lack utility. Vigils at the tomb accompanied by visions of the saint and followed by cures were well known. They were recorded in the Legenda aurea.⁴³² Many specific examples could be adduced - but the incubation miracles at the tomb of St. Hugh of Lincoln will have to suffice.⁴³³ In search of a cure and in need of a place to pass the night, pilgrims, doubtless, were among those who slept, and it may be, dreamed, within the saint's enclosure.⁴³⁴

The power of a resident saint fostered respect for his precincts.

Anyone taking refuge within the boundaries of his territory might call upon his protection. Hence the cult of saints in the early Middle Ages intersected with, and reinforced a right which the Church was struggling to safeguard — the right of asylum. In a violent age of poor civil authority, sanctuary seekers could rely on the ability of the patron saint to punish those who violated his peace.⁴³⁵ Although canon law came to endow all churches and cemeteries with sanctuary rights,⁴³⁶ excepting not places but rather certain types of criminals from the right of asylum,⁴³⁷ it may be true, nonetheless, that the traditional prestige of some particularly famous shrines made the sanctuary which they offered more attractive to fleeing men. In England, royal charters provided special privileges to a select number of churches and abbeys like Beverley and Durham.⁴³⁸ At Beverley penalties for breach of sanctuary increased the closer to the high altar and frith stool that such violations occurred; the presence of the relics of St. John of Beverley (d.721) within the most severely punishable circle added to the sacrilege of infringement.⁴³⁹ Recourse to sanctuary continued in the later Middle Ages;⁴⁴⁰ but stronger civil government and more efficient civil justice reduced the need for sanctuary and papal acceptance of extended definitions of the casus ~~cause~~ excepti further restricted eligibility. Traces of the institution survived in France and in England until the eighteenth century.⁴⁴¹

More central to the cult of saints in later medieval Europe was another institution which, like sanctuary, antedates Christianity: journeying to consecrated places or pilgrimage. Reasons for undertaking a peregrinatio, from the fourth century Jerusalem

journey of Silvia (or Etheria) of Aquitaine to the days of Chaucer's Canterbury travellers, might range over a host of motives, encompassing as many seemingly incompatible ones as did those famous pilgrimages called Crusades.⁴⁴² The goal, the place of pilgrimage was crucial to many. Zeal to reach a shrine where supernatural forces had revealed themselves, sacred history had been enacted, relics were to be venerated or obtained, living saints could be consulted - everything from holy curiosity to personal need directed the steps of pilgrims towards their destinations.⁴⁴³ Evidently, there was a class of cure-seekers who visited shrine after shrine in search of healing, like the lady whose sight St. Osmund ultimately restored.⁴⁴⁴ Pilgrimages were also commonly made ex-voto.

In addition, pilgrimage, an arduous, possibly dangerous excursion, was an ascetic exercise, a means of securing forgiveness through penitential privation.⁴⁴⁵ Those voluntary exiles of the early Middle Ages, the Celtic missionary monks, who left their homes pro remedio animae, were pilgrims despite the permanence of their journey and the lack of a shrine as its goal.⁴⁴⁶ Chosen freely as a penance or imposed as one by individual confessor, inquisitorial tribunal, or communal court, the penitential pilgrimage was spiritually profitable in direct proportion to its attendant risks and sufferings. The greater the distance, therefore, the more meritorious the pilgrimage.⁴⁴⁷ This is a theory which tends to shift attention away from the dignity of the shrine and towards the asceticism of the journey. Conveniently, however, some of the most important shrines in Christendom required agonies of long distance travel. Of course, the shrines of purely local

saints could compete in neither fama nor hardship. Yet, an influential assortment of regional centers also existed, often of European reputation, which offered intermediate benefits.

As varied in their persons as in their motives, pilgrims, in the eyes of the Church, shared the same juridical condition and the same privileges that came with belonging to the ordo peregrinorum. In fact, a significant sub-species, the cruce signati, was not technically identified until the end of the twelfth century.⁴⁴⁸ The ordo enjoyed ^{the} protection of the Church.⁴⁴⁹ Ecclesiastical ceremony blessed pilgrims' insignia, staff and wallet, liturgically establishing the ordo as a quasi-consecrated one.⁴⁵⁰ Unsurprisingly, one can speak of a class of pilgrim-saints. St. Alexis was a member of this class, and his vita, which de Voragine anthologized, was among the best-loved of the Middle Ages.⁴⁵¹ St. Roch, too, was a pilgrim-saint. The story of the German noble youth St. Willebald (d. 1230?) conveys the typical motif: the poor, unknown pilgrim dies among unconcerned strangers; then miracles announce his sanctity.⁴⁵²

Another similar motif juxtaposes pilgrimage and martyrdom. A pious baker named William set out from his native Perth on a pilgrimage to Canterbury, accompanied by his adopted son David, who, for reasons unknown, murdered his benefactor near Rochester (c. 1201). Capgrave's legend tells that William's body was discovered by a mad woman whose madness the relics cured. William's relics were then taken to Rochester Cathedral, given honorable burial, and performed further miracles. A cult sprang up. There-

after, the murdered pilgrim himself became an object of pilgrimage. The Rochester records inform us that sometime before 1230 the grand justiciar of England donated a window in St. William's honor and that before 1239 oblations to this Scottish saint had permitted the complete rebuilding of the cathedral's choir and transepts.⁴⁵³

On 19 April 1352, Petrarch, who was en route to visit his brother Gherardo at the Chartreuse of Montrieux, encountered a large travelling party of Roman ladies midway between Aix and St. Maximin. In reply to his question, the ladies declared that they were going to Compostella, to the shrine of St. James.⁴⁵⁴ The pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella was of European fame, but the cult of St. James tied the apostle so effectively to his most famous shrine that he truly became a Spanish saint. Discussing St. James, Brunetto Latini, in his Li livres dou tresor, couples him immediately with a reference to Spain.⁴⁵⁵ The thirteenth century saw the height of the pilgrimage to Compostella, but in the late fourteenth century a tapering off may be detected.⁴⁵⁶

For traditional places of pilgrimage, the later medieval period seems to have been a time of consolidation. The hallowed journey ad limina Apostolorum is bolstered up with Jubilees. And beyond Rome, papal indulgence policy seems to have been ^{used} deliberately to revive pilgrimages in danger of neglect.⁴⁵⁷ The fifteenth century witnessed scenes of great excitement at Mont St. Michel; hordes of children from Germanic territories converged upon the shrine of the Archangel in 1457-58; French children, likewise, by no means remained unaffected by enthusiasm for St. Michael.⁴⁵⁸

In England, the shrines of St.Cuthbert at Durham and St.Thomas of Canterbury continued to flourish,⁴⁵⁹ but they are only two out of many. (It has been said that the county of Norfolk alone had thirty-eight pilgrimage places.⁴⁶⁰)

What of the later medieval period as a time of pilgrimage innovation? Do new shrines emerge to rival their illustrious predecessors? St.Francis, dying, asked for his litter to be deposited on the ground; then he turned towards the city of Assisi and blessed it. His blessing began a new era for the town. The relics of the saint, plus the support of a papal indulgence, made Assisi into "one of the high places of Christendom."⁴⁶¹ After 1204, when Venice received a large share of the relic booty from Constantinople, pilgrims passing through the city to the Holy Land came to regard Venice itself as a place of veneration, as an urban shrine.⁴⁶² The newer shrines of England seem to have been for unrecognized or uncanonized saints like Thomas of Lancaster or Robert Grosseteste or Richard Rolle - but these new pilgrimages did not appear to establish themselves on a par with more venerable cults and were much less durable.^{462a}

Useful in considering this problem of pilgrimage innovation are the distinctions worked out by the inquisitorial tribunals of the thirteenth century who meted out punitive pilgrimages in keeping with the seriousness of the lapses to be expiated. As codified in Bernard Gui's early fourteenth century Practica inquisitionibus, the catalogue includes four peregrinationes majores (Rome, Compostella, Canterbury, Cologne). It is interesting that

Jerusalem is omitted; and that Constantinople, found in a similar thirteenth century list, is excluded.⁴⁶³ Geographically, these four maiores are the gateways to the heartlands of Christendom. Twenty-one peregrinationes minores complete Gui's catalogue, including seven French Marian shrines, twelve shrines for old saints (e.g. St. Martial of Limoges, St. Giles of Provence, etc.), and two shrines for new saints (St. Louis in Paris, St. Dominic in Bologna).⁴⁶⁴ To account for the choice of new shrines, one must not forget that Gui was a French Dominican. Overall, the list of minores reflects a geographical bias favoring the Midi, where the inquisitorial pilgrimage penalty was engineered.

Regional centers, primarily, despite the great reputations which many among them enjoyed, Gui's peregrinationes minores might be easily quintupled for the later Middle Ages, without hope of total inclusiveness or the need to refer to shrines of entirely local significance. Maps resolve many issues; those available for later medieval pilgrimages are not especially enlightening.⁴⁶⁵ A very extensive inventory of later medieval shrines has long been in print, however, and is of considerable interest. The communes of present-day Belgium (predominantly those of medieval Flanders) imposed expiatory pilgrimages upon their citizens for a wide variety of crimes in which civic peace was violated. Influenced directly or indirectly by ecclesiastical precedents, used in communal disorders by the late thirteenth century, expiatory pilgrimages may be found in the municipal statute books by the first-half of the fourteenth century. Condemned pilgrims very often but not always had the option of paying a cash equivalent to a designedly

onerous journey. Hence tariff lists were composed, giving the range of choices open to the commune plus the remission costs per pilgrimage shrine. These tariff lists date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Distorted perhaps by their non-devotional purposes, these lists are, nevertheless, extraordinary sources for mapping old and new shrines, radiating outward from an implied Flemish center-point.⁴⁶⁶

The register which van Cauwenbergh provides brings together all the shrines cited in the tariff lists of individual communes. It is an impressive index to Christian holy places, 232 of them in a grand total that embraces Mount Sinai, Rhodes, Constantinople, and Cyprus; Riga and Trondheim; Prague and Basle; Louth, St. Andrews, Oxford, and Dover. France contributes the highest number of shrines (92), with the Low Countries second (47), Germany third (28), Italy fourth (23) and Great Britain fifth (16). Spain (6), Switzerland (5), and outlying areas, including the Christian East (7), account for the remainder (8). Of these shrines, slightly less than half do not pertain to the saints (Marian shrines: 75; unspecified shrines: 17; shrines of Christ, i.e. holy blood or cross: 12). The remaining shrines (128) number among them only a handful (6) dedicated to later medieval saints (Bl. Peter of Luxemburg (d.1387),⁴⁶⁷ St. Louis of Toulouse,⁴⁶⁸ St. Louis of France,⁴⁶⁹ St. Thomas of Hereford (d.1282), St. Francis of Assisi⁴⁷⁰).

What these figures do not indicate is new pilgrimage activity at traditional shrines, or indeed new shrines for old saints (which the circulation of relics, sudden miracles, etc., always made possible).

Yet, however limited the evidence, it does appear that the new saints of the later Middle Ages failed to make a vigorous impression on the pilgrimage registers of the Flemish communes. Clearly, Germany and Italy are statistically under-represented. But the new regional shrines in both areas were not necessarily dedicated to new saints. Eucharistic miracles gave rise to pilgrimages on a considerable scale in the German later Middle Ages.⁴⁷¹ For Italy as well as Germany, Marian piety can never be ignored; in the concluding Quattrocento, to choose but one example, the pilgrimage to the Santa Casa of Loreto began to acquire a European fame.⁴⁷²

Finally, it is worth emphasizing that the cult of saints and the institution of pilgrimage were closely interrelated. The popularity of a given shrine was dependent upon the popularity of its tutelary saint, so that, to an extent, the measure of the former is a fair indication of the latter. Anyone interested in the cult of St. Martin in the later medieval centuries must be struck by the fact that Bernard Gui did not make Tours one of his minores.

Moreover, it was definitely in the interests of those who guarded the shrine that the cult of its patron should flourish, that pilgrims should crowd the precincts, and that pilgrims' donations should be generous. Thus their concern to record the saints' miracles.⁴⁷³ Thus they had popular guide-books⁴⁷⁴ and, more important, vernacular vitae⁴⁷⁵ specially prepared. From the saint's shrine there issued a constant stream of propaganda and publicity on the saint's behalf. The fifteenth century is an age of woodcuts advertising shrines.⁴⁷⁶ Old latin texts about Mont St. Michel refer to a

pendula villa composed of inns and shops selling religious trinkets to the pilgrim trade: ampullae filled with holy water, or with earth or sand from the mount; lead or pewter shells, or better yet, effigies of St. Michael battling the devil.⁴⁷⁷ For image merchants and innkeepers, not to mention the religious attached to the shrine, the vitality of the shrine patron's cult governed their livelihood. No wonder, then, that everyone rejoiced to see departing visitors bearing on their persons, as part of the habitus peregrinorum,⁴⁷⁸ the emblems of the shrine, and carrying off with them scraps of literature and art extolling the miracles of the saint. Homeward-bound pilgrims, propagating a new cult where perhaps it had not grown before,⁴⁷⁹ were an investment for the future.

This commercialization of pilgrimage, this touting of shrine saints and their relics excited a hostile reaction from critics and reformers. In truth, pilgrimage malpractice would prove to be one of the most damaging weapons to use in castigating every aspect of the veneration of saints. The satirical colloquium of Erasmus entitled "The Religious Pilgrimage" goes much further than its subject would suggest; more than an attack on votive pilgrimages, it is really a diatribe on popular credulity and priestly venality, with the cult of saints serving as the focus of both.⁴⁸⁰ But this witty and biting essay had long been anticipated by the coarser writers of popular literature. In the Cent nouvelles nouvelles as in the Quinze joyes de mariage, pilgrimage is regarded as merely a pretext for adultery, an occasion for a pre-arranged tryst. Over these activities the saints would exercise an ambiguous patronage.

In addition, a secularizing of the pilgrimage impulse seems detectable; a mood of tourism shapes a religious activity to its own ends. Nevertheless, genuinely devoted pilgrims still made their way around Europe, and beyond it. One has only to think of that independent lady of Lynn, Margery Kempe (b. c.1373, fl.1438), who journeyed to Canterbury, Venice, Jerusalem, Rome, Compostella, Aachen - and to innumerable lesser shrines in England and abroad,⁴⁸¹ although, by turns eccentric and inspired, she would be no one's idea of a typical pilgrim.

Manifestations of Cult: Relics.

"L'histoire du culte des reliques à travers les âges n'a pas été écrite."⁴⁸² Hippolyte Delehaye wrote this in 1927, and his words still stand.⁴⁸³ The explanation for this lacuna in scholarship lies in the complexity of the subject. Lipsanography, as the study of relics is called, properly extends into many areas of medieval life and piety. Christ and the Virgin, the angels as well as the saints have been at the center of the cult of relics. Devotion, ecclesiastical regulation, popular behavior, cultural geography, and social history - all interconnect with or influence the practice of the cult of relics at particular moments of its history.

Since the cult of relics was not confined to relics of the saints, it would be mistaken to equate the two. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that the cult of their relics remained a central

manifestation of the cult of saints. To those who recognised his sanctity during his lifetime, the saint was liable to be regarded as a potential relic. Peter Damian recounted how St. Romuald (d.1027) was almost assassinated by pious peasants who wanted his body to stay with them and work miracles on their behalf.⁴⁸⁴ Great was the joy of the citizens of Assisi when the dying Francis returned to their midst, "for the whole multitude hoped that the holy man might soon die; and this was the matter of their so great exultation."⁴⁸⁵ Once dead and securely guarded, the saint would ^{remain} ~~continue~~ among them.

If the saint was, in his life-time, always a near-relic, the relic, in many respects, simply continued the career of the saint. When, according to what sounds like a translation legend,⁴⁸⁶ King Casimir II of Poland (11-7-94) requested Pope Lucius III (1181-85) to send him some relics for the church of Cracow, the Pope withdrew into his sacristy, which was well-stocked with relics of the saints. Whether seriously or in jest, he asked the relics which of them wanted to go to Poland. St. Florian (martyred in 304) raised his hand. As a result, he was sent to Poland, where he became one of the patrons of Cracow. The travels and miracles of relics, in the eyes of medieval writers, are chapters in the saint's acta. Relics began to be venerated in conjunction with the Christian cult of personality. If ever they lost the imprint of personality, became merely potent objects, one might be able to point to a significant shift in their historical identity.

The presence of the relic was often all that was needed to establish a cult. The precocious cult of St. Anne at Chartres, for

instance, has been attributed to a putative relic of the saint, brought from Constantinople in the early years of the thirteenth century.⁴⁸⁷ Relics were, in fact, sufficiently powerful to create not only cults but saints, where none had previously existed. Everywhere the taking of oaths over relics, reliquaries, or altars of saints was a common practice. In the Bordelais, swearing such an oath was to do so sur le fort, supra forte (cf. feretrum). At Saint-Seurin of Bordeaux, until around the fifteenth century, oaths were taken "sur le fort de Saint Seurin" (Severinus). Then an interesting transmutation took place. The cartulary of Saint-Seurin records de iuramentis super sancto Forte; by 1420 a new saint had emerged, and one swore oaths "sur l'autel de Monseigneur Saint Fort garni."⁴⁸⁸

In Tolentino, there was a richly decorated sarcophagus from Christian antiquity, perhaps the late fourth century. Its inscriptions were wholly misunderstood in the early Middle Ages, for while they identify the occupants as a former praetorian prefect, his wife, and their young son, the people of Tolentino, probably well before the cult is first documented in 1054, made of the prefect Catervius a confessor and then a martyr, and his wife Septimia Severina they metamorphosed into a virgin, the dignity she held on the Tolentino calendars. A Vita beati Catervi militis et martyris was needed and therefore produced. Catervius became the titular of a church, a monastery, principal patron of the cathedral, and ultimately of the city itself. A 1474-75 riformanze refers to him as —

equitis et martyris celeberrimi, unici nostri almi
protectoris, defensoris Reipublicae Tolentinatis.⁴⁸⁹

Certainly a laudatory notice for a traditional patron; especially since thirty years had not passed from the time Tolentino's St. Nicholas was canonized.

There was a great variety in types of relics. Here are some examples taken from an inventory of Boniface VIII's treasury in 1295:

capud beati Blasii in quondam repositoio de argento...
manus beate Barbare in quondam cessela⁴⁹⁰ de argento
cum imaginibus relevatis.

duos dentes, unam de costis, et unum os de brachio
ipsius beate Marie Magdalene.

de cinere Sti. Laurentii martyris.
quidam lapis in quo est scriptum: De mensa cene.
de monte Calvarie.
de capillus beate Elisabet.
reliquias sanctorum martirum Sebastiani et Stephani
pape, Marchi et Marcelliani et Sisti pape.⁴⁹¹

These are only a few items from a by no means mediocre collection which included the relics of two thirteenth century papally canonized saints - St. Francis (whose chasuble is claimed) and St. Hedwig (can. 1267; about whose relics no particulars are given).

The Roman Church at the time of Gregory the Great (d. 604) forbade the dismemberment of corporeal relics, a practice which the East tolerated.⁴⁹² In the Latin West, to disturb the tomb of a saint was then considered sacrilegious. For a long time, however, both the East and West regarded anything which had come into contact with the holy man - his garments, his instruments of martyrdom, his books - as his relics.⁴⁹³ Also, oil from the lamps at the grave, wax from candles there, earth from his tomb were all equally efficacious. Pieces of cloth called brandea were laid upon the grave of the saint, absorbing his virtutes. These non-corporeal

relics would be distributed on a large scale and receive the full veneration accorded to the saint's bodily remains.⁴⁹⁴ Thus, it has been suggested, arose some of the conflicting claims to possession of a given saint's relics. Non-corporeal relics, perhaps later^{to} be mistaken for corporeal ones, in any case undoubtedly helped to create infinite numbers of relics for the same saint.⁴⁹⁵ Personal possessions of the saint continued to be highly valued, throughout the Middle Ages. The bell relics of Celtic saints⁴⁹⁶ and the famous cloak of St. Martin (from that capra the word cappella descends)⁴⁹⁷ would have their later medieval equivalents.

Coming in almost as many forms and shapes as there are parts of the body, the corporeal relics of the saints were, nevertheless, hierarchized with the entire body or its 'most noble' adornments like the head being most esteemed.⁴⁹⁸ With the reputed relics of Elisha, for example, the chronicler Salimbene got "the principal and greatest bones of that body" from the Archbishop of Ravenna and, in turn, donated them to the Franciscans of Parma, who placed them within the high altar; the Augustinian Hermits had managed to steal Elisha's head; while St. Bonaventura only was able to secure a tooth.⁴⁹⁹

Some saints were able to secrete an odoriferous oil with fine curative properties.⁵⁰⁰ St. Elizabeth of Hungary did, and the brothers of the Teutonic Order distributed it to those who wished to build churches or erect altars to the new saint. This exuding of oil naturally helped to attract pilgrims hoping for cures; recounted in a sermon by Caesarius of Heisterbach, the phenomenon contributed

to Elizabeth's fama.⁵⁰¹ Blood was another potent relic, from the days of the martyrs onwards. It is significant, however, that blood miracles first come into major prominence in the fourteenth century. The blood of St. Liborius at Paderborn first received veneration then.⁵⁰² Bl. Ambrose Sansedoni's blood seems to have worked miracles in fourteenth century Siena.⁵⁰³ Finally, the best reported blood miracle attributed to a saint, the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius, is first dated in the sources in 1389.⁵⁰⁴ That during the same period eucharistic miracles involving hosts which exuded blood became increasingly more prevalent;⁵⁰⁵ that the cult of the wounds of Christ and of the Holy Blood gathered momentum at the same time, do not appear fortuitous but instead part of a similar devotional pattern.

Relics insured direct and immediate contact with the saint.⁵⁰⁶ Their efficacy was most demonstrable to individuals when they cured illness. In a later medieval play about St. Martin, his relics possess enough power to overcome the resistance of two beggars, a blindman and a paralytic, for whom cure meant the loss of their income.⁵⁰⁷ Specilization in treating illness and other woes seems to have marked the relic cult by the last quarter of the twelfth century.⁵⁰⁸

Because the relics of saints contained the heavenly fire and this virtue resided in even their smallest particle, as was argued by the late fourth century Bishop of Rouen, Victricius,⁵⁰⁹ so relics, wherever they were enshrined, truly brought the saint's tomb to that place.⁵¹⁰ The ownership of a saint's relics localised the saint

and the cult. To communities who possessed relics, the most demonstrable sign of their efficacy was the protection which they assured. The early use of pignus for relic implies this function of security.⁵¹¹ Paulinus of Nola (d.431) believed that Constantine had acquired the relics of Saints Andrew and Timothy for his new city in order that "... he might protect his city walls/ With apostolic bodies and be safe."⁵¹² Gregory of Tours and later writers would echo this theme.⁵¹³ The sixteenth century Venetian, Sansovino, speaking of relics, says "molto più sicura ~~la~~ guardia celeste che la terrena delle fortezze et delle muraglie."⁵¹⁴

Besides working cures and guaranteeing protection, relics revealed their efficacy by a more mundane test: they brought wealth to those who held them. G.G. Coulton has collected so many instances of monastic enrichment due to the timely discovery (inventio) of relics that it would be superfluous to add to them.⁵¹⁵ Translations and ostensions also proved financially rewarding to impoverished monasteries.⁵¹⁶ But lay lords and cities too could reap the benefits. Bishop Nivelon de Chérisy of Soissons who had in the early thirteenth century enriched Châlons-sur-Marne with a worthy relic confidently expected the proceeds from pilgrims to pay for the completion of the cathedral and the construction of a town bridge there.⁵¹⁷

And if pilgrims did not come to see the relics, then the relics themselves, for the sake of raising revenue, would become pilgrims. In quest of funds, especially to finance the building or repair of churches, ecclesiastics (some of whom became more or less professional fund-raisers) solemnly escorted the most admired relics

of the church on long tours among the faithful, soliciting alms. For France, such relic excursions began shortly after 1050 and fell into decline somewhat before 1550.⁵¹⁸ From this period, a recent study lists 102 fund-raising journeys (54 of them specifically mentioning relics), a number which is probably too far below historical reality to be worth tabulating according to epoch. Still, it is interesting to observe that the fifteenth century shows no slackening in the use of relics to stimulate charity.⁵¹⁹

The predisposition to regard accidentally discovered bodies (particularly if found in or near a church) as relics of saints⁵²⁰ continued into the later Middle Ages. The later medieval inventio might not have been so commonly provoked by the revelatory dreams of an earlier era,⁵²¹ but the mentality was similar. Great preachers like Bernardino of Siena reminded their audiences of past achievements in the archaeology of piety:

Si igitur corpora aliorum sanctorum et reliquias,
quae latebant, Dominus revelavit, ut patet de
beato Stephano, de beato Gervasio et Protasio
et multis aliis...⁵²²

Fortified with these memories and zealous to obtain the relics of revered patrons, those searching for relics seldom failed to find what they sought.⁵²³ Happy discoveries could also be stage-managed, as was the 1267 inventio of St. Mary Magdalene at Vézelay. Doubts had been expressed about the Magdalene's presence at the abbey, and therefore the abbot meticulously arranged a discovery which would end all suspicion. Before high ranking churchmen, the papal legate, and King Louis IX of France, Abbot Jean d'Auxerre unearthed a metal coffin from below the abbey's main altar. Inside the coffin was the corpse of a long haired female and a certificate

(supposedly signed by Charles the Bald) which identified the lady as the Magdalene. The abbot triumphantly and generously distributed relics to his guests.⁵²⁴ Although an inventio could initiate a cult, it was many times the result of pre-existing veneration.⁵²⁵ On 24 October 1225, the inventio of St. Maurice, the most highly regarded saint the Swiss claimed to possess, took place; afterwards, documents were reckoned by this event: 'Anno ... revelationis S. Mauritii.'⁵²⁶ (revelatio was synonymous with inventio).

The theme of translatio studii is a familiar one in medieval culture;⁵²⁷ in some respects comparable to it, the translation of relics likewise expressed the direction of change — towards what was now more glorious. Both the saint and the place his relics would now reside drew glory from a translatio. Perhaps the saint had not been properly honored heretofore: this motif would justify translation by theft. The saint's new home, furthermore, would, as it were, inherit the glory of his former residence (witness the value of Roman martyrs' relics in the early medieval north). Translation would dramatize the special veneration in which the saint was held, and thus publicize his fama.

When a saint's relics were being ceremonially transferred, within the same church perhaps, from a lesser reliquary to a more magnificent one, onlookers were bound to feel that the saint's glory had also been magnified. In fact, by the end of the eighth century, to remove the body of a Christian from the cemetery, bring it into the church, or, if already there, to raise it to a more exalted position (elevatio corporis), possibly above an altar, was

formally to recognize the sanctity of the deceased — to canonize him, in other words.⁵²⁸ Elevations and translations retained much of their importance in the later Middle Ages, giving rise to new feasts, works of art, hagiographic writings, and even establishing new cults, with or without papal sanction. In 1430 Pope Martin V had the relics of St.Monica translated from Ostia to Rome. At the rites held to celebrate the event, Pope Martin delivered a eulogy which Pastor calls St.Monica's bull of canonization. Appropriately, her relics were entrusted to the guardianship of the Augustinian Hermits.⁵²⁹ The cult of St.Monica has been traced to this 1430 translation,⁵³⁰ but of course the desire to translate her reflects pre-existing veneration. Seemingly, St.Louis relished the religious benefits of these occasions, for his record of attendance at relic translations is a good one.⁵³⁴

As spectacles, translations demanded the best efforts of churchmen. The religious preparation was also considerable. Before the translation of St.Thomas Becket in 1220, Archbishop Stephen Langton spent a day in prayer and fasting. On the eve of the ceremony, Langton, accompanied by his suffragans and the monks of Christchurch, secretly recovered the relics, and had them closely guarded. The next day, high dignitaries of church and state assembled; and with liturgical pomp and processions, the translation was carried out.⁵³² Bishops and sovereigns often vied for the privilege of carrying the relics. Inside the church, there would be hymns, a special sermon in praise of the saint, and the proclamation of a suitable indulgence.⁵³³ In 1462, during Holy Week, the head of St.Andrew was processionally translated to Rome. Cardinal

Bessarion presented the reliquary to Pope Pius II. The Pope then prostrated himself before the relic, rising to deliver a Latin oration in its praise which called upon St. Andrew to protect Rome and all of Christendom from the Turk.⁵³⁴ "The translation of the body of St. Anthony, called the less" took place at Padua on 13 February 1350, under the supervision of Cardinal Gui de Boulogne "with the devotion of an immense throng" which included Petrarch.⁵³⁵ Typically, Siena honored the arrival of certain relics in 1359 by holding a palio.⁵³⁶ Florence, on the other hand, found to its chagrin that the relic of St. Reparata received with such great ceremony at the Duomo in 1352 was actually made of wood covered with plaster.⁵³⁷

The demand for relics in the later medieval period promoted a wide distribution of them. Relics were acquired chiefly by four means — through gift, sale, warfare, or theft. Gifts usually implied a quid pro quo. A religious house would find a lay magnate's debt of gratitude useful, just as a great lord would appreciate the spiritual benefactions which an abbey or church could offer in return for a coveted relic. In Stückerberg's extraordinary register of all documented Swiss relic transactions from c. 381 to 1906, he includes, for the period 1200-1400 alone, forty-three donations of relics involving both religious houses and magnates, variously giving and receiving.⁵³⁸ St. Louis, who obtained relics of some of the 11,000 Virgins from Cologne and relics of some of the Theban Legionaries from Saint-Maurice of Agaunum, undoubtedly gave, in return, a few choice items from his unequalled collection of Passion relics.⁵³⁹

In such exchanges, donations were verging on sales. The sale of relics had been repeatedly prohibited in Christian antiquity.

St. Augustine, however, describes the sale of pseudo-relics of the martyrs by the wandering monks of his day; and from the considerable export traffic organized by the enterprising ninth century Roman deacon Deusdona, who systematically raided the catacombs,⁵⁴⁰ to the pardoners of Chaucer's time and long afterwards, the sale of relics continued unabated. Relics from Byzantium in the years following 1204 frequently made their way West in this manner.⁵⁴¹ Venice, for example, bought the body of a saint in 1230.⁵⁴² St. Louis indirectly purchased the Crown of Thorns, not from the impoverished Baldwin II, but from the Venetian bankers who had taken it to secure Baldwin's loan.⁵⁴³

In fact, Silvestre casts doubt upon what has been considered the official Church attitude of the later Middle Ages. Re-interpreting canon sixty-two of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, he argues that its medieval commentators did not mention a prohibition of relic sales in its provisions, but only saw a prohibition on the exposure of relics outside their reliquaries (extra capsam) for purposes of sale. Silvestre maintains that to permit the exhibition of relics outside their reliquaries would be to invite fraudulent substitutions and lead to doubts about the relics' authenticity. According to Silvestre, this is what the Church feared above all else. Moreover, relic merchants who depended upon the displaying of their wares would, in theory, be put out of business by this ruling. The Church tolerated the sale of relics, Silvestre believes, primarily because a strict sale and a gift with conditions attached could not be dissociated.⁵⁴⁴ Yet, putting aside this interesting notion of an officially tolerated relic traffic, one wonders

if any other attitude would have been enforceable, given the traditional nature of the trade and the insatiable demand of relic-hungry collectors.

Among the spoils of war, relics and of course their valuable reliquaries assumed an honored place, both as trophies of victory and as prizes desirable for their own sake. The Italian conflicts of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries resulted in relics again and again being abducted from one city and deposited in another.⁵⁴⁵ Yet the most outstanding example of relics as booty must be the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204. The significance of the appetite for relics in precipitating the overthrow of the Byzantine capital, which the Crusaders regarded as a vast treasure house of Christian remains, has been increasingly stressed in recent research.⁵⁴⁶

Of course, warfare was a collective pursuit, but for centuries individuals had been acquiring relics in much the same manner — by stealing them. The curious morality of pious theft justified the acquisition of relics by every kind of deception, bribery, and betrayal, with the tacit consent or active encouragement of high ecclesiastics.⁵⁴⁷ Instances of pious theft commence in antiquity.⁵⁴⁸ Church councils might excommunicate thieves for sacrilege — and the victims of such outrages did not spare their anathemas — but on more than one occasion, leading members of the clergy actually glorified the praedo sanctus.⁵⁴⁹ The Patriarch of Aquileia masterminded the theft of two bodies from the church of Grado;⁵⁵⁰ and the rulers of Siena tried to abscond with the corpse of Bernardino,

while it was lying in state at Aquila.⁵⁵¹ Since the risk of relic theft did not decrease in the later Middle Ages, security precautions remained necessary and were usually elaborate.^{551a} How the relics of St. Roch got to Venice in 1485 cannot now be determined. If the story of their theft from Montpellier is more than doubtful,⁵⁵² the fact that it was believed the relics were stolen rather than sold (and the latter seems more likely) has some significance. A relic stolen was a relic worth stealing; it was bound to be efficacious, miracle-producing. A relic which had been bought might very well turn out to be fraudulent. Even if a relic had in fact been ~~purch-~~ chased, therefore, it was best to claim that it had been stolen. Theft established credentials.⁵⁵³

In the early Middle Ages the geography of relic circulation was South to North. The main current was from the rich holdings of Italy and especially Rome, over the Alps, to the acquisitive, relic-poor lands of the Carolingians. With Ottonian intervention in Italy, relics from Umbria, for example, were taken by imperial bishops to their homelands, thereby initiating cults for Umbrian saints in Germanic territories.⁵⁵⁴ In 1162, Frederick Barbarossa's destruction of Milan led to the translation of the Three Kings to Cologne.⁵⁵⁵ Yet in later centuries as well, relics flowed northwards, obtained by gift and sale, in addition to theft and conquest. Pilgrims to Rome brought relics back with them.⁵⁵⁶ Of the relics of foreign saints in Switzerland, the bulk come from Italy, with Rome a major supplier though smaller centers like Assisi and Gubbio make their contribution too.⁵⁵⁷

Italy was not the only medieval exporter of relics. Equally rich was the Christian East. Thus the Venetians reputedly obtained the relics of St. Mark from Alexandria in the ninth century, while the sailors and merchants of Bari stole St. Nicholas from Myra in the eleventh.⁵⁵⁸ A new era began with the Crusades, and if the thirteenth century witnessed the climax, it did not see the conclusion of relic circulation from East to West. A vast outpouring of Byzantine relics began immediately after the Latin conquest. At first the knights seized what they wanted, but later an official division of the remaining spoils probably portioned out the relics, like the goods of the Church, by eighths — 2/8ths for the Latin Emperor, 3/8ths for the Venetians, and 3/8ths for the Latin army.⁵⁵⁹ It is quite possible that the army's share of the relics was consigned to the bishops who had come with the knights.⁵⁶⁰ Individual Crusaders received small purses of mixed relic fragments.⁵⁶¹

The army bishops headed the distribution to Western churches, making sure to enrich their own dioceses with plundered relics before sending any anywhere else.⁵⁶² The Latin Emperors used their share to win Western support for their shaky throne; relics were part of their diplomacy. Hence those whose sympathies were worth having like Philip Augustus or the Duke of Austria benefitted and so did the Cistercians. Towns like Bruges and Courtrai also received gift parcels.⁵⁶³ Knights and clerics close to the Emperor were granted relic bequests which they, in turn, kept for themselves or bestowed on their favorite Latin churches.⁵⁴⁶ Through its portion, as was said earlier, Venice became a shrine city.⁵⁶⁵ Byzantium continued to be a center of export in the relic trade well after it had recov-

ered its independence. In 1363, for example, a certain Magister Petrus de Pestagali was authorized by Byzantine monastic officials to export a shipment of relics purchased in Constantinople, which had been certified as genuine.⁵⁶⁶

Partially as a result of an intensified circulation of relics from the early thirteenth century onwards, a new social pattern of relic ownership appears to emerge in the later medieval period. A great many of the relics sent West after 1204 arrived at urban centers. This does not mean that traditional collectors like monasteries were neglected, and in obscure houses new relics enjoyed some of their most brilliant successes. What is new, however, is to see cities like Venice and Paris come near to challenging Rome as relic repositories. Elsewhere, too, on a much reduced scale, municipalities seem to increase their relic holdings. In some cities, a new relic is acquired which becomes the focus of municipal pride, a relic which almost becomes a civic talisman. Such 'civic relics' could be a miraculous host (e.g. Orvieto) or some drops of Christ's blood (e.g. Bruges) or a fragment of the True Cross;⁵⁶⁷ Marian relics and relics of saints would also serve. Naturally these relics would not all come from afar, but some of them would. Is it coincidental that, ^{in the later Middle Ages} even the relics of local patrons, in the Italian cities anyway, seem to play a more conspicuous rôle in the liturgies of urban life? Finally, a process with many variations continues: some important monastic relics are translated to urban churches. In some areas this began early, in others fairly late, or not at all. In 1497, for example, the bones of St. Januarius leave the monastery of Montevergine and come into Naples.⁵⁶⁸

An intensified circulation of relics also seems to produce a wider class of lay owners. But some caution is needed here. The time when relics were being rapidly imported was a propitious era for fake relics of Western manufacture to be thrown onto the market.⁵⁶⁹ Rising demand thus created new opportunities for enterprise. Furthermore, private relic collections in the hands of laymen were nothing new. They had existed from at least the time of Charlemagne.⁵⁷⁰ One would expect that the holders of civil and social power in the world would also possess objects deemed valuable and potent. But in the later Middle Ages, it does appear that the class of lay relic owners greatly expanded.⁵⁷¹ Some of the knights who brought back relics from Constantinople retained them in newly built oratories on their estates.⁵⁷² Whatever their origin, particles of relics came to be found in the company of ordinary people — on their rings,⁵⁷³ images, hats, garments, rosaries, graves, and medallions.⁵⁷⁴ A downward circulation of relics is indeed noticeable in this age of amulets. Here too the saints would be accessible. Distinguishing between pious motives and superstitious ones in the wearing of relics, Thomas Aquinas takes cognizance of the popular practices of his day, and, providing relics are worn "ex fiducia Dei et sanctorum quorum sunt reliquiae" he approves.⁵⁷⁵

The new influx of Eastern relics did not change Western preferences because those preferences had been fixed well before the treasures of Constantinople became available. If the supply of Byzantine relics was more or less limited, Western demand was restricted as well, concentrated upon a select range of items. Oriental saints unknown in Latin Christendom were disdained by all save

the Venetians who knew about Byzantine cults and martyrologies.⁵⁷⁶ Despite this disdain, some Greek saints bearing the same names as more famous apostles and martyrs were shipped back in error.⁵⁷⁷ There was a great wish to acquire the relics of those titularies of Latin churches held in Greek shrines. To cite one instance, the canons of Saint-Quiriace of Provins managed to obtain the head of their patron saint from a provinois knight in Constantinople.⁵⁷⁸ What was desired most of all were the relics of Christ; then came Marian relics and the relics of saints revered through Christendom — the apostles and martyrs of the universal Church.⁵⁷⁹ The Comte de Riant's useful inventory of relic treasures taken from Byzantium after 1204 contains approximately 450 items. Out of this total, about 128 items or 28.4% are non-corporeal relics of Christ—⁵⁸⁰ an astonishingly high percentage, compared with most Western catalogues. The tendency is confirmed if one consults a specific, contemporary list, say that of the Anonymi Halberstadensis which sets out relics sent West in 1205. In a total of 57 items, there are ten relics of Christ.⁵⁸¹ It is true that the events of 1204 put into circulation a large number of Christocentric relics. These were the relics which, first and foremost, were wanted.

As for the relics of the saints, popular acquisitiveness fastened on the saints of the universal Church, the early apostles and martyrs. Riant's catalogue shows this, and so does Stückerberg's register of Swiss relic transactions. For the period 1200-1400, the latter names 772 relics of old saints, and only twenty relics of new ones;⁵⁸² if we take in the fifteenth century too, there are thirty-five references to new saints included in Stückerberg's

inventory. Discounting repetitions, a total of seventeen new saints are mentioned, twelve of whom belong to a mendicant order. Behind these acquisitions was the demand of mendicant houses for relics of their own saints.

Not the first to criticize the cult of relics, Abbot Guibert of Nogent wrote his De pignoribus sanctorum about 1125.⁵⁸³ Jean Calvin completed his own treatise on relics in 1543.⁵⁸⁴ Between these two very different writers, the cult of relics attracted critics of many kinds, orthodox and heretical.⁵⁸⁵ Satire, whether from Italian or English pens, was not lacking, and fraudulent relics and popular credulity were the most typical themes.⁵⁸⁶ From the time of the Fourth Lateran Council, the papacy attempted to regulate the cult, but cannot be said to have had much success in its efforts. In the face of popular pressure, even the prohibition against exhibiting relics outside their reliquaries was compromised; the crowd would be permitted to gaze on relics without the slight impediment of monstrances, on major festivals.⁵⁸⁷ Blatant abuses would, on occasion, prompt papal intervention.⁵⁸⁸ To imagine that the papacy passed judgement on all new relic cults — as the Fourth Lateran Council had laid down — would, however, be very much mistaken.⁵⁸⁹ In certain more sophisticated circles there was a new scepticism about relic claims, a new demand for certificates of authentication, and a new insistence upon written evidence about how the relics in question were obtained.⁵⁹⁰

Yet it would be hard to document the impact of satire, scepticism, fraud, scandal, or papal pronouncements upon popular behavior.

Public ostensions of relics remained highly popular.⁵⁹¹ If the relic inventories of the later medieval period reveal an enormous inflation of relic holdings and claims,⁵⁹² this fact seems to have no popular significance which can be easily demonstrated; behaviorally, that is, one encounters few signs that the cult has lost any of its value. In times of fear and danger, such as a great storm described by Petrarch,⁵⁹³ or during plague,⁵⁹⁴ religious and laity ran to their relics and implored God's mercy. A saintly revivalist preacher like Vincent Ferrier used to rush off to the local relic collection as soon as he arrived at a new cloister.⁵⁹⁵ Moreover, the popular craving for relics meant that the ashes of condemned heretics like the Lollards had to be carefully scattered, or else they would be collected.⁵⁹⁶ Witness the precautions taken with the remains of Savonarola.⁵⁹⁷ In Bohemia as in Sicily, the bones or bits of the flesh of hanged criminals, who had of course been absolved before their execution, were highly esteemed.⁵⁹⁸ So the enthusiasm for relics was far broader than that of the traditional cult of saints — the bones of King Arthur excited interest; just as the enthusiasts themselves could be cultivated men. The Florentines, for instance, who failed in their efforts to acquire the remains of Dante and Petrarch, were surely animated by civic sentiment and by a piety that was perhaps more literary than religious.⁵⁹⁹

Chapter II: Notes.

1. H.G.J. Beek, The Pastoral Care of Souls in South-East France during the Sixth Century (Rome, 1950), p.285. Cf. Delaruelle in Pellegrinaggi, op.cit., p.221.
2. Origo, op.cit., p.306.
3. E. de Moreau, Histoire de l'Eglise en Belgique, Vol.3 (Brussels, 1945), p.580.
4. Van der Leeuw, op.cit., pp.391-92.
5. Cf. M. Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane (transl. Trask) (New York), pp.110-12.
6. Owst, op.cit., pp.126-29ff.
7. F. Cabrol "Fetes chretiennes (les)," in Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie, Vol. V.1 (Paris, 1922), cols. 1403-1452; cf. col.1422, passim.
8. Leroquais, op.cit., Vol.I, p.xxviii.
9. R.L. Poole, Medieval Reckonings of Time (London, 1935), p.26. Cahier, op.cit., Vol.I, p.157.
10. Schauerte, op.cit., p.112. de Gaiffier, Études critiques, op.cit., p.492. For 13th century documentation, see E. Chapin, Les Villes de foires de Champagne des origines au début du XIV^e siècle (Paris, 1937), pp.294, 295-96.
11. Suggested by some phrases in J. Chélini, Histoire religieuse de l'occident medieval (Paris, 1968), p.312.
12. Cf. Eliade, op.cit., p.68.
13. R. Glasser, Time in French Life and Thought (transl. Pearson) (Manchester, 1972), p.58ff.
14. J. Froissart, Chronicles (transl./ed. Brereton) (Harmondsworth, 1968), p.111. Cf. E. Delaruelle, "Les grandes processions de penitents de 1349 et 1399," in Il Movimento dei Disciplinati (Perugia, 1962), pp.109-45.
15. E. Pognon, L'An Mille (Paris, 1947), pp.vii-xiii.
16. H.E.J. Cowdrey, "The Peace and Truce of God in the eleventh century," Past and Present, No.46 (Feb. 1970), pp.44-45.
17. A. Frugoni, "Il Giubileo di Bonifacio VIII," Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano, No.62 (1950), pp.1-121.
18. G. Tognetti, "Sul Moto dei Bianchi nel 1399," Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano, No.78 (1967), pp.205-343.
19. N. Cohn, op.cit., pp.125-27. L. Tondelli, Il Libro delle Figure dell'Abate Gioachino da Fiore, Vol.I. (2nd ed., Turin, 1953), pp.197-213.
20. Glasser, op.cit., p.60.
21. V. Leroquais, Le Bréviaire missel du prieuré clunisien de Lewes (Paris, 1935), p.5. Smith and Cheetham, op.cit., Vol.I, p.551.

22. For bibliography, see AB, Vol.LXIX (1951), p.288, ftnt.2.
23. Cited by Leroquais, Lewes, op.cit., p.5.
24. J. Daniélou, "La typologie biblique traditionnelle dans la liturgie du Moyen-Âge," in La Bibbia nell'alto medioevo (Settimane di Studio...X) (Spoleto, 1963), pp.154-56.
25. L. Gougaud, Dévotions et pratiques ascétiques du moyen âge (Paris, 1925), pp.65-73. Cf. AB, Vol.LXXIV (1956), p.526.
26. Cf. A. Giry, Manuel de Diplomatie (Paris, 1894), p.134.
27. Manning, op.cit., p.130, ftnt.1.
28. Cited from Robt. of Brunne, Handlyng Synne, by Manning, op.cit., p.125.
29. Daniélou, loc.cit., pp.157-60. Cf. AB, Vol.XX (1901), p.103.
30. Cf. J.L. Cate, "The English Mission of Eustace of Flay, 1200-1," in Études dédiées à... Henri Pirenne (Brussels, 1937), pp.67-89; see p.74ff.
31. D. Mallardo "L'Incubazione nella Cristianità medievale napoletana," in AB, Vol.LXVII (1949), pp.491-92.
32. De Moreau, op.cit., Vol.3, pp.572-73. Cf. Delaruelle in Pellegrinaggi, op.cit., pp.222-23: St.Martin performs most miracles on his feast days.
33. Loomis, op.cit., pp.55, 173 ftnt.78, 99ff for instances.
34. L. Menzies (transl.), The Revelations of Mechthild of Magdeburg (1210-97) (London, 1953), p.174.
35. Cf. Cahier, op.cit., Vol.I "Supplément" (1871), p.2.
36. Giry, op.cit., p.155.
37. Cited with discussion in W.J. Brandt, The Shape of Medieval History: Studies in Modes of Perception (New Haven & London, 1966), p.51.
38. Poole, op.cit., pp.15-16.
39. G. Zilliken, "Der Kölner Festkalender," in Bonner Jahrbücher Vol.119 (1910), pp.13-157; here, p.143.
40. Ibid., pp.146-48.
41. Ibid., p.148.
42. Ibid., pp.149-57.
43. Aigrain, op.cit., pp.252-53.
44. The possible uses of medieval ecclesiastical calendars in helping to elucidate the geography of medieval culture and in the definition of medieval regions, diffusion of influences, cultural contact, and related problems should not be overlooked. Garrison, Studies, op.cit., has repeatedly called attention to this aspect of calendars. There are some interesting applications suggested in D. Hay, "Geographical Abstractions and the Historian," in Historical Studies: II (ed. Roberts) (London, 1959), pp.1-15, and especially p.13, paragraph 2.

45. Cf. A. Brunacci, "Santi umbri nel 'Passionario' di Perugia," in Atti del III Convegno di Studi Umbri (Perugia, 1966), pp. 255-71; here, pp. 265, 271, where a transcription error in a sermon led to hagiographic doubling.
46. Abbot Gasquet and E. Bishop, The Bosworth Psalter (London, 1908), pp. 121-22.
47. Ibid., p.120.
48. Cf. H. Quentin, Les Martyrologues historiques du moyen âge (Paris, 1908) and the review by H. Moretus in AB, Vol. XXVII (1908), pp. 65-69 which particularly on pp.68-69 brings out the methodological points.
49. H. Delehaye, "Le Témoignage des Martyrologues," in AB, Vol. XXVI (1907), pp.78-99, especially pp.78-83. Aigrain, op.cit., pp.11-12.
50. A. Hirschmann (ed.), "Calendaria Eystettensia," in AB, Vol. XVII (1898), pp.393-413; the calendar under discussion: pp.395-401. Unfortunately space does not permit a discussion of these interesting calendars in the context of their historical development, for which the thirteenth (pp.406-10) and fifteenth century (pp.410-413) calendars could be utilized.
51. Ibid., The two calendars referred to above (the Calendarium Monasterii Hailsbronnensis and the Calendarium Eystettense Anni 1494) are both very selective in the choice of commemorations; leaving blank spaces, etc.
52. Leroquais, Bréviaires, op.cit., Vol. I, p.xvi.
53. Ibid., Vol. I, p.lxiv.
54. Study any MS calendar or printed versions such as those collected by Francis Wormald (e.g. his English Benedictine Kalendars after a.d. 1100 Vol. I (London, 1939) and Vol. II (London, 1946) - Henry Bradshaw Society volumes LXXVII and LXXXI respectively), whose exact reproductions, although not facsimiles, admirably convey the workaday messiness of the MSS.
55. Leroquais, Bréviaires, op.cit., Vol. I, p.lxiv.
56. J. Dowden, The Church Year and Kalendar (Cambridge, 1910), p.23.
57. Ibid., p.25.
58. Aigrain, op.cit., p.271 and fnnt.1.
59. Poole, op.cit., p.13.
60. P. Perdrizet, Le Calendrier de la nation d'Allemagne de l'ancienne université de Paris (Paris, 1937), p.15. (Hereafter, Perdrizet-Cal.nat.d'Allemagne). For further information on holidays in medieval universities, see H. Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages (2nd ed. Powicke & Emden, eds.) (Oxford, 1936), Vols. I, pp.219-20, and III, pp.422-24.
61. Perdrizet-Cal.nat.d'Allemagne, p.12.
62. Ibid., p.15.
63. Ibid., p.16.

64. Ibid., pp.17-19.
65. Ibid., pp.21-22.
66. Ibid., p.25.
67. The further Cistercian saints appearing on the calendar are all additions viz., Saints Robert of Molesme (27 April), Peter of Tarentaise (8th May), and Edmund Rich (16 November), Ibid., p.27.
68. Ibid., p.27.
69. Ibid., p.27. BHL, I, p.175 for the hagiographic accounts; also treated in Fr.Cuthbert, Life of St.Francis of Assisi (2nd.ed) (London, 1913), pp.238-40.
70. Attwater, op.cit., pp.44, 50.
71. "Seemingly" because Perdrizet does not, unfortunately, publish the entire calendar.If the whole calendar is not available, serious analysis of its contents cannot be undertaken. In this respect, even the great catalogues of Victor Leroquais are not as helpful as they might have been; although, in fairness to Leroquais, the most distinguishing features of each of his calendars are noted and the scale of his labors perhaps made full transcriptions impractical.
72. Perdrizet-Cal.nat.d'Allemagne, p.27 suggests that Franciscan humility is responsible.
73. Ibid., p.29.
74. Ibid., p.29.
75. Ibid., p.29.
76. Ibid., pp.30-31.
77. A.P. Forbes, Kalendars of Scottish Saints (Edinburgh, 1872), p.xx.
78. Garisson, Studies, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.129-30 discusses the value of some of these books for the cult of saints.
79. V. Leroquais, Les Sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France (Paris, 1924), Vol.I, p.xxvi defines the sanctoral or proper of saints in this way: "The sanctoral is the collection of masses in honor of saints, a collection which constitutes a part of the liturgical cycle."
80. A still valuable account of these books remains C. Wordsworth and H. Littlehales, The Old Service-Books of the English Church (London, 1904).
81. B. de Gaiffier, "Verballi delle Sedute" (i.e. the discussion) in Atti del II Convegno di Studi Umbri (Perugia, 1965) p.52.
82. S.M. Harris, The Kalendar of the Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium (Cardiff, 1953) [Extract from the Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales, Vol.III], p.3ff.
83. Ibid., pp.17-18.
84. Ibid., pp.18-19.
85. Ibid., p.17.

86. Ibid., pp.3-4.
87. Ibid., pp.8-16; 20-21.
88. Ibid., pp.22-23; 26-42.
89. See the discussion in Wordsworth and Littlehales, op.cit., pp. 248-55.
90. Leroquais, Bréviaires, op.cit., Vol.I, p.xi. Perdrizet-Calendrier, p.12.
91. E. Bishop, Liturgica Historica (Oxford, 1918), p.237.
92. "Its popularity may be judged by the fact that 265 printed editions were later known in England and 1582 on the continent." R.E. Messenger, The Medieval Latin Hymn (Washington, D.C., 1953), p.53.
93. J. Leclercq, et al., Histoire de la spiritualité chrétienne: Vol.II, La Spiritualité du moyen âge (Paris, 1961), p.587.
94. In his review of V. Leroquais, Les livres d'Heures manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale (Paris, 1927), 2 Vols., F. Halkin brings out the material of special concern to hagiography: see AB, Vol.XLVI (1928), pp.213-19; here especially p.214.
95. Ibid., p.215. Perdrizet-Calendrier, p.16.
96. Cf. Perdrizet-Calendrier, pp.44, 46.
97. Leroquais distinguishes calendars in books of hours from those of breviaries in his Bréviaires, op.cit., Vol.I, p.xi.
98. By Leroquais: cf. Halkin's review, loc.cit., p.215.
99. Halkin, supra, pp.215-16 and Perdrizet-Calendrier, pp.42-47 agree here.
100. Perdrizet-Calendrier, p.45.
101. Ibid., pp.16-17, and passim.
102. Leroquais, Bréviaires, op.cit., Vol.I, p.lxv cites three from the thirteenth century, so the phenomenon was not necessarily a late one.
103. The proclivities of scribes have received more attention than the tastes of their customers.
104. Cf. D. McRoberts, Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments (Glasgow, 1953) in which several books of hours are mentioned (e.g. items 45, p.9: which was "written for use in Scotland," and 65, p.12), but for present purposes two are worth noting - the Playfair Book of Hours was "written and illustrated almost certainly at Rouen late in the fifteenth century, and was intended for Scottish use, since the calendar has a number of Scottish saints" (item 47, p.9) and Elizabeth Danielstoun's Book of Hours (c.1450) which was manufactured for a Scotswoman, who may have been living abroad, at Bourges (item 58, p.11). Items such as these would offer valuable information about requested patronage choices.

105. Ibid., p.11, item 57 refers to a c. 1450 book of hours written in the Netherlands and possibly adapted by the Aberdeen Greyfriars: "The calendar is a mixture of a liturgical calendar and one of those common in Books of Hours that have a saint for every day somewhat arbitrarily selected."
106. F. Bond, Dedications and Patron Saints of English Churches (London, 1914), p.139.
107. See the Preface to this study, fnnt.13.
108. For what follows in this paragraph, cf. Leroquais, Breviaires, op.cit., Vol.1, pp. lxxi-lxxii. Garrison, Studies, op.cit., Vol.1, p. 128. Zilliken, loc.cit., pp.139-140.
109. If a universal saint is celebrated locally on a non-standard feast day, this could illustrate peculiar local cult or the presence of a local homonym (cf. Giry, op.cit., p.155). Furthermore, when Garrison (Studies, op.cit., Vol.1, p. 128) says of universal saints that "their presence in a calendar furnishes little or no insight into special veneration" he is on safe ground so far as identification of the calendar is concerned. Yet if one wants to use the calendar in conjunction with documents of local history to illuminate a local pattern of veneration, then it might emerge that a universal saint has, because of local circumstances, become localized, and that his cult, therefore, after a certain date, has assumed local exceptional significance.
110. Hence it is imperative that whole calendar programs are printed; a short summary of distinctive local saints is no substitute for the complete grouping of cults.
111. S. Tramontin, et al, Culto dei Santi a Venezia (Biblioteca Agiografica Veneziana, Vol.11)(Venice, 1965), p.286: he appears on a fifteenth century missal.
112. Ibid., p 286ff, and passim.
113. Ibid., p.277ff.
114. Ibid., pp. 157-73
115. F. Lanzoni, Storia, op.cit., pp.391-404
116. Ibid., p.404.
117. Ibid., p.406.
118. Ibid., p.407.
119. Ibid., pp.409-10
120. Ibid., pp. 410-11ff.
121. Ibid., p.411

122. B. de Gaiffier, Etudes critiques, op.cit., pp.490-91.
123. Leroquais, Breviaires, op.cit., Vol.1, pp.xvi-xvii. Also see Zilliken, loc.cit., pp.135-39. An important authority in such matters is still K.A.H. Kellner, L'Anno ecclesiastico e le feste dei santi nel loro svolgimento storico (transl from 2nd German ed. by A. Iercati), (Rome, 1906); for the grades of dignity of feasts; see p.12.
124. B. Backaert, "L'Evolution du calendrier cistercien", Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorum, XII (1950) pp.81-94; 302-16; XIII (1951), pp.108-27. See p.113 for St. Catherine.
125. Leroquais, Breviaires, op.cit., Vol.1, pp.cii-ciii.
126. P. Grosjean, in AB, Vol LV (1937), p.144.
127. Garrison, Studies, op.cit., Vol.1, p.130.
128. See Dowden, op.cit., p.xix; Zilliken, loc.cit., p.136; Kellner op.cit., p.12. Of course the liturgical rank of a feast did not always correspond with a definite degree of social obligation, e.g. work abstention: Cf. C.R. Cheney, "Rules for the Observance of Feast-Days in Medieval England", in Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Vol.XXXIV (1961), pp.117-47; note pp. 122-23. The important distinction between purely liturgical cult and cult involving popular observances is developed by J. Burlet in his Le Culte de Dieu, de la sainte Vierge et des Saints en Savoie avant la Revolution (Chambery, 1922); see, for example, pp.7, 13.
129. For a recent general treatment of Christian holiday behaviour, see Chapter 2 ("La fete, affirmation des valeurs spirituelles") of J.Heers, Fetes, jeux et joutes dans les societes d'occident a la fin du moyen age. (Montreal, Paris, 1971). There is much useful (and curious) information- not all of it free from bias, in R.T. Hampson, Medii Aevi Calendarium (London, 1841), 2 Vols. The ethnographical article by Polese ("le feste popolari cristiane in Italia") which has been cited already, tries to examine the historical roots of modern holiday rituals. To be done properly, however, this sort of investigation must document the earliest recorded reference to these holiday ceremonies. Rituals associated with a medieval saint may themselves be post-medieval.
- 130...Cheney, loc.cit., p.117. He refers to these days as festa ferianda; others call them feriae sollemnes or feasts sub praecento. See also A. Villien, "Fetes" in Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique (ed. Vacant & Mangenot), Vol.V (Paris, 1913), cols.2183-91; here, cols.2187-88; and R. Naz, op.cit., Vol.V (Paris, 1953), cols. 1227-29. Manning, op.cit., p.5, says that non-attendance made one "liable to fines".
131. Cf. Leroquais, Breviaires, op.cit., Vol.1, pp.xxxi-iv; li. Note also D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England (correc.ed.)

(Cambridge, 1949), p.539ff.

132. The role of the friars in the thirteenth century is well-known; for the later medieval period, see DELARUELLE, p.629ff.
133. Toussaert, op.cit., p.73.
134. Poggio Bracciolini, op.cit., Vol.1, pp.69-70; this anecdote, about priests telling a friar to preach as short a St. Stephen's day sermon as possible, is applied also to the Piovano Arlotto (see Folena, op.cit., pp. 23-24) on St. Lawrence's day.
135. The construction of formal, scholastic sermons is elucidated by E. Gilson, "Michel Menot et la technique du sermon médiéval", in his Les Idées et les lettres (Paris, 1932), pp.93-154.
136. Manning, op.cit., p.20 and fnnt.5.
137. DELARUELLE, p.631. The exempla literature is less interesting for popular notions of sanctity than one would have expected; cf. Aigrain, op.cit., p.151 and fnnt.1.
138. Owst calls it "the outstanding example of the popular festival sermon-book" which "indicates the vogue of narrative sermons based on the lives of holy men." G.R. Owst, Preaching in Medieval England (Cambridge, 1926) p.245.
139. Owst, Literature and Pulpit, op.cit., p.124ff.
140. Ibid., p.110 ff.
141. Cited by G. Philippart in his review of J.B. Schneyer, Repertorium der Lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350, Vol.1 (Munster, 1969) in AB, Vol.LXXXIX (1971), p.246.
142. Ibid., p.246
143. Ibid., p.246
144. Ibid., p. 246
145. See Philippart's review of Schneyer's Vols. II & III (Munster, 1970 & 1971) in AB, Vol. XC (1972), pp.224-25.
146. Cf. B. Pullan, A History of Early Renaissance Italy (New York, 1973), p.333.
147. S. Bernardini Senensis, op.cit., Vol.IV (1956), p.417ff.; Vol.V (1956), sermons lviii and lix; Vol.VIII (1963), pp.173-4.
148. Edinburgh University Library; Inc.8. On Leonardus Matthaiei (de Utino), O.P., see J. Quetif and J. Echard, Scriptores ordinis Praedicatorum (1719; reprinted Turin, 1961), Vol.1, pp.845-46.
149. Philippart, loc.cit., Vol.LXXXIX, p.247.

150. E.C. Rodgers, Discussion of Holidays in the Later Middle Ages, (Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University: No.474) (New York, 1940), pp.32-33.
151. J. Chélini, Histoire religieuse de l'occident médiéval (Paris, 1968), p.312. K. Bihlmeyer, Kirchengeschichte, Vol.11, Das Mittelalter (13th ed., ed. by H. Tüchle)(Paderborn, 1952), pp.126,457.
152. G.G. Meersseman, "Disciplinati e penitenti nel duecento", in Il Movimento dei Disciplinati (Perugia, 1962), p.49 and fnnt.3.
153. Second day, tenth story. Cf. also the translator's footnote on the Ravenna calendar in the Penguin edition (1972), p.221.
154. Cf. Toussaert, op.cit., p.77. For a good instance of this, see Froissart, Chronicles (Johnes transl) (London, 1852), Vol.1 (Book 2, Chapter 96), pp.701-2.
155. Since the procession is of such interest to later medieval religious behaviour, it is a pity that more systematic work has not been done in studying it. A lucid exposition for earlier Christian times of processions inside and outside the church is given in Smith and Cheetham, op.cit., Vol.11, ppl715-17.
156. Ibid., p. 1716. Cf. also H. Thurston, "Processions," in The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol.XII (London, 1911), p.447.
157. Cabrol, loc.cit., cols. 1423-24.
158. Cited in D.R. Dendy, The Use of Lights in Christian Worship (Alouin Club Collections, No. XLI) (London, 1959), p.111.
159. Cf. H.Thurston, "Relics," in The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. XII, p. 738
160. Messenger, op.cit., pp.68-72
161. F. Schevill, Siena: the Story of a Mediaeval Commune (London, 1909), p.78.
162. Dejob, op.cit., p.376. For similar obligations in Flanders, cf. Toussaert, op.cit., p.246.
163. Leroquais, Breviaires, op.cit., Vol.1, p.lxxvii. Cf. Messenger, op.cit., 69-73.
- 163a In S. Anglo, Spectacle, Pageantry, and early Tudor policy, (Oxford, 1969), there is evidence of a similar concern. I am grateful to Professor Hay for this reference. Cf. also Guevee and Lehoux to be cited infra.
164. Toussaert, op.cit., pp.250-66.
165. Ibid., pp.245-46.
166. A. Lazzarini, "La Mancata effettuazione della bella 'Transiturus' (1264), in Archivio Storico Italiano, Anno 110

- (1952), pp.205-15.
167. Rapp, op.cit., pp.145-46.
 168. Alphandery and Dupont, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.135-36; 164.
 169. The fullest account in L.Douglas, A History of Siena, (London, 1902), pp.84-90.
 170. Ibid., p.90
 171. R. Morghen, "Ranieri Fasani e il Movimento dei Disciplinati del 1260", in Il Movimento, etc., p.35.
 172. This was authorized from the early fourteenth century: S.J.l. van Dijk & J.H. Walker, The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy (Westminster, Md. and London, 1960), p.393.
 173. C. ordsworhth, Notes on Medieval Services in England, (London, 1898), p.261.
 174. Toussaert, op.cit., pp.249, 253, 259; for processions of fifteenth century Doppere, p.250.
 175. J. Burckhardt, The Civilization of the Renaissance (Oxford and London, 1945), pp.246ff.
 176. Ibid., p.253.
 177. Ibid., p.253ff.
 178. B. Guenée & P. Lehoux, Les Entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515 (Sources d'histoire medievale, 5) (Paris, 1968), pp.9-12ff. I am grateful to Dr. Kenneth Fowler for supplying this reference.
 179. Ibid., pp.13,22.
 180. Ibid., p.187.
 181. Ibid., p.133.
 182. Ibid., p.296.
 183. Ibid., p.77.
 184. Ibid., p.181.
 185. Ibid., p.272.
 186. Cf. Toussaert, op.cit., pp. 266-67.
 187. For a summary of non-liturgical influences, see DELARUELLE, pp.610-13.

188. Cf. O.B. Hardison, Jr., Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages (Baltimore, 1965)
189. L. Petit de Julleville, Histoire du théâtre en France. Les Mystères. Vol.I (Paris, 1880), p.2.
190. The standard account of the whole development remains that of K.Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church (Oxford, 1933) 2 Vols
191. P. Studer (ed.), Le Mystere d'Adam (Manchester, 1949), pp.lvi; xxiv ff; xv ff; xxi-xxii.
192. In what follows, only some aspects of medieval French vernacular drama, which are relevant to hagiographical concerns, will be considered.
193. Male, Fin du M.A., p.189.
194. Chelini, op.cit., pp.467-68 summarizes some material here.
195. F.J. Warne (ed.), Jean Bodel: Le Jeu de Saint Nicholas (Oxford, 1968), pp.vii-x; xv-xvii.
196. Lecleroq et al, op.cit., Vol.II, p.417.
197. Warne, op.cit., II.6-8, 104-5; for this citation, II.112-13.
198. G. Frank, The Medieval French Drama, (Oxford, 1954)pp.93-94.
199. Petit de Julleville, op.cit., Vol.1, pp.187-96.
200. Ibid., Vol.11, p.1.
201. Ibid., Vol.11, p.3.
202. Ibid., Vol.11, p.24 where the phrase is cited.
203. Ibid., Vol.11, p.69 where the document is cited in extenso.
204. Ibid., Vol.11 p.57.
205. Cf. Male, Fin du M.A., p.198 and fnnt.2.
206. Petit de Julleville, op.cit., Vol.11, p.14.
207. Ibid., Vol.11, pp.80-81 for a c.1500 instance from Chaumont.
208. Ibid., Vol.11, p.32. (It was unusual for plays to be staged within convents.)
209. Ibid., Vol.11, e.g. pp.10,11,39,44,48,55.
210. Ibid., Vol.11, pp.42-43.
211. Ibid., Vol.11, p.43.

212. Ibid., Vol.11, pp.175-85 and the appendix to this list, pp.644-45. His time limit runs to 1603; my tabulations stop at 1520.
213. Ibid., Vol.11, pp.63,79.
214. Supra, fnnt.208.
215. Petit de Julleville, op.cit., Vol.11, p.88.
216. Ibid., Vol.11, p.10, cited from Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris.
217. Ibid., Vol.11, p.181.
218. Cf. DELARUELLE, p.623. On sponsorship, see also Frank, op.cit., pp.197-201. A recent comprehensive discussion is G.A.Runnalls, "Mediaeval Trade Guilds & the Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages" in Medium Aevum, Vol.XXXIX (1970), pp.257-87.
219. For copious bibliographical references, cf.DELARUELLE, pp.666-93.
220. O.Clemen, Die Volksfrömmigkeit des ausgehenden Mittelalters, (Dresden and Leipzig, 1937), pp.6-9.
221. F. Halkin in AB, Vol.XLVII (1929), p.178.
222. T. Smith (ed.), English Gilds; the original ordinances of more than one hundred early English gilds. (Early English Text Society, 40) (London, 1870), p.47. The spelling has been slightly modernized.
223. Ibid., pp.47-48. Two of the other four meetings of the confraternity fall on or near feasts of St. Thomas.
224. Ibid., pp.40-41.
225. Ibid., p.103 - a North Lynn example.
226. Ibid., pp.45, 187ff, etc. A wealth of illustrations are available.
227. See. A. Gouron, Le Réglementation des métiers en Languedoc au moyen âge, (Geneva and Paris, 1958), p.337-46.
228. Ibid., p.347.
229. Ibid., p.350.
230. Ibid., pp.350ff.
231. Ibid., pp.352ff. Cf. Maillet, op.cit., p.169 where banners and banquets are mentioned.
232. F. Morandini (ed.), Statuti dell'arte dei legnaioli di Firenze (Fonti sulle corp. medioevali, VII) Florence, 1958), pp.9(1301);

67 (1315); 133 (1346). Not every 'Florentine' saint appears on each preamble.

233. Kaftal-Rucan contains no separate images of him.
234. E. Staley, op.cit., p.425 says that "the guild of carpenters was one of the least esteemed in the heirarchy of the guilds ..." He informs us, furthermore, p.425, that in 1305 the carpenters simply adopted the general code for all guilds and adapted it to their needs. Although Staley's chronology does not coincide with that of Morandini (supra), it does seem to offer a partial explanation.
235. Cahier, op.cit., Vol.11, p.622 and fnnt.1.
236. On these Italian guild statutes and preambles, cf. Dejob, op.cit., pp.278-79. Lucca: ibid., p.263-69. Florence and Siena: L.Manzoni, Statuti e matricole dell'arte dei pittori delle città di Firenze, Perugia, Siena. (Rome, 1904), citation is from p.83 (Siena, 1356 statutes).
237. As a writer, St. Luke becomes patron of notaries. This text, cited from Manzoni, supra, has been slightly emended for the sake of clarity.
238. Ibid., pp.117-18.
239. Ibid., p.83.
240. Ibid., pp.83ff, 90ff, 98ff.
241. Ibid., pp.86ff, 93ff, 93ff. p.101
242. Ibid., pp.118-19, 120.
243. Ibid., e.g. p.93 and passim.
244. Carpentier, op.cit., p.72.
245. Ibid., pp.74-75.
246. Ibid., p.141. The practice could be illustrated in numerous other cities.
247. I.B. Becker, "Some Common Features of Italian Urban Experience (c.1200-1500)" in Medievalia et Humanistica, N.S., Vol.1 (1970), pp.175-201; here, p.189.
248. Carpentier, op.cit., pp.74-75.
249. L.A. Muratori, Disertazioni sopra Antichità Italiane (2nd ed., transl. by G.F.S. Muratori) (Rome, 1775), Vol.III, part.1, p.238.
250. Ibid., p.239.

251. R. Van Santbergen, Les bons métiers ... de la cité de Liège (Biblio.de la Fac. de Philos. et Lettres de l'Univ. de Liège, fasc.CXV) (Liège, 1949), p.354.
252. W. Heywood, Palio and Ponte (London, 1904), p.62ff.
253. Ibid., pp.68, 80. Cf. Kaftal-Tuscan, col.29ff., where the dates differ slightly - d.1286, feast 22 March. BHL and Attwater agree with Heywood.
254. Kaftal-Tuscan, col.29ff.
255. Decameron, seventh day, third story.
256. Heywood, op.cit., pp.68, 82-83. Note also Kaftal-Tuscan, col.817ff. Heywood refers to further Sienese palii, p.84ff. For Florence, ibid., p.9.
257. Rodgers, op.cit., p.73 and ftnt.109ff.
258. On holidays in eleventh century lower Lorraine, de Gaiffier comments: "Si le travail était interdit, la coutume était plus indulgente pour les foires qui augmentaient l'affluence des étrangers." Hence, in many places, "le marché annuel coïncidait avec la fête du patron local," Études critiques, op.cit., pp.491,492.
259. R. L. Muncey, A History of the Consecration of Churches and Churchyards (Cambridge, 1930), p.52.
260. For a good, recent summary of available information, see the Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Vol.111, chapter 3, "Markets and Fairs", by O.Verlinden, pp.119-53, especially pp.126-35. On the connecting link between medieval fairs and religious feasts, note also pp.121, 125, 134, 152.
261. Chapin, op.cit., pp.49, 107 ftnt.9. I am presuming that the Innocents at Lagny were not from the first venerated at a peculiar local date.
262. Ibid., pp.45, 107.ftnt.9.
263. Edward I's 1279 Quo Warranto cited and translated in H. Richardson, The Medieval Fairs and Markets of York (St. Anthony's Hall Publication, 20) (York, 1961), p.12.
264. Ibid., pp.11-15. St. Cuthbert's translation feast of 4 September was observed with a fair in fifteenth century Durham: See R.B. Dobson, Durham Priory, 1400-1450 (Cambridge, 1973), pp.27, 44.
265. Muratori, op.cit., p.239.
266. Carpentier, op.cit., pp.51, 58, 74.
267. On the Portiuncula and its privileges, see L. Canonici, La

- Porziuncola e gli inizi dell'ordine francescano (S.Maria degli Angeli & Assisi, 1963). On the fair, J. Ginraud, L'Etat pontificat après le Grand Schisme (Paris, 1896), p.179.
268. G. Franceschini, "La dedicazione di Perugia a Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Duca di Milano", Archivio Storico Lombardo, 9th Series, Vol.III (1963), pp.287-305; cited from pp.302-3, fnnt.24.
 269. Leroquis, Breviaires, Vol.I, p.xvii.
 270. Naz, loc.cit., Vol.V, col.834.
 271. Cf. Kellner, op.cit., pp.15, 19. Cabrol, loc.cit., Vol.I, cols. 1436-37.
 272. Zilliken, loc.cit., pp.131, 136-37. B. de Gaiffier, Etudes critiques, pp.476, 490.
 273. E. Delaruelle, "La Pieta popolare nel secolo XI", in X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche (Rome, 1955); Relazioni III (Florence, 1955), pp.309-332; passage quoted, p.320.
 274. Cf. Kellner, op.cit., p.21.
 275. Cf. Rodgers, op.cit., pp.9-10. Kellner, op.cit., pp.21-22 Naz, loc.cit., Vol.V, col.834.
 276. Gregory IX, Decretales, Lib.II, tit.ix, cap.v. (Antwerp, 1570) pp.267-68.
 277. Rodgers, op.cit., p.30: "The greater number of holidays.... consisted on faints' days of lesser importance, which depended, in large measure, for their status and the strictness of their observance upon the custom of the region."
 278. Cheney, loc.cit., p.118. Naz, loc.cit., Vol.IV (Paris, 1949), col.1230.
 279. Cf. Manning, op.cit., pp.129-30.
 280. Villien, loc.cit., Vol.V, cols.2187-88.
 281. Cited by Cheney, loc.cit., p.136, cf.p.125.
 282. Ibid., p.119: "...some (of these lists)... have the character of local legislation, others are doubtful, others again seem to be nothing more than memoranda." The lists are presented in a wider context in F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney (ed.), Councils and Synods with other documents relating to the English Church, II. 2 Vols. (Oxford, 1964).
 283. Note the M.C. variants, erasures and additions, which Powicke and Cheney carefully reproduce in the Councils and Synods (surra).

284. B. Harvey, "Work and Festa Ferianda in Medieval England", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Vol.XXIII (1972), pp.289-308; on the bishops' caution, pp.292-93. I wish to thank Mr. Alan Harding for referring me to this article.
285. Cheney, loc.cit., p.137.
286. Ibid., pp.131, 143.
287. Cf. Harvey, loc.cit., pp.295-96.
288. D. Patriok (ed. and transl.), Statutes of the Scottish Church, Scottish History Society, Vol.LIV, (Edinburgh, 1907), pp.78-79.
- 283a See the footnote on the intervention of the Scottish Parliament in 1469: infra.
289. Cf. the comments of Barbara Harvey on towns and holidays, loc.cit., p.302.
290. Lanzoni, Storia Eccles., p.417.
291. Zdekauer and Sella, op.cit., pp.43-45.
292. Ibid., p.44. Cf. DHGE, Vol.IV, cols.907-12.
293. Ibid., pp.317-18.
294. Ibid., pp.318ff.
295. Ibid., pp.320-26.
296. Kellner, op.cit., pp.181-83 discusses anniversary feasts of church consecrations.
297. Graesse, op.cit., pp.845-57.
298. Kellner, op.cit., p.132.
299. Riant, loc.cit., p.76.
300. Cf. Andrieu, loc.cit., p.397.
301. Riant, loc.cit., p.78-79.
302. Cf. M. Coens, in AB, Vol.LV (1937), p.54 and fnnt.2.
303. P. Pellini, Dell'Historia di Perugia, Vol.II (Venice, 1664) pp.579-80.
 , op.cit., Vol.IV.(London, 1894), p.389 (cf.p.289).
304. Pastor ↗
305. See the discussion of diffusion of cult in Chapter 3.
306. Naz, loc.cit., Vol.V, col.834.

307. Cf. Kellner, op.cit., pp.25-26.
308. Delehay, "Martyrologes", loc.cit., p.80.
309. Rodgers, op.cit., p.84 and ftns.22-24.
310. E. Bertaux, "Les Saints Louis dans l'art italien", Revue des deux mondes, Vol.CLVIII (1900), pp.615-44; here, p.639.
311. J.M. Canivez, "Citeaux..." in DHGE, Vol.XII (1953), col.956.
- 311a Backaert, loc.cit., Vol.XIII, p.316 and fnt.183.
312. A. Wilmart, Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin, (Paris, 1932) pp.47, 203.
313. H.Wieruszowski, "Art and the Commune in the time of Dante", Speculum Vol.XIX (1944), pp.14-33; see p.21 and references.
314. H.M. Bannister, "The Introduction of the Cultus of St. Anne into the West", English Historical Review, Vol.XVIII (1903), pp.107-12.
315. See W. Ullmann, The Origins of the Great Schism (London, 1948) pp.93-94; 102ff.
316. Cross, op.cit., p.57.
317. V. Leroquais, Un Livre d'heures manuscrit à l'usage de Macon (Macon, 1935), especially pp.5, 16-17, 37-38, 66.
318. Wilmart, op.cit., pp.49, 264-65; cf. p.55.
319. Male, Fin du M.A., pp.228-29.
320. Cf. B. de Gaiffier, "Le Trinubium Annae: Haymon d'Halberstadt ou Haymon d'Auxerre?" in AB, Vol.XC (1972), pp.289-98.
321. Schauerte, op.cit., p.92.
322. Villien, loc.cit., Vol.V, col.2189.
323. Cf. Cross, op.cit., p.975.
324. See Kellner, op.cit., pp.22-23. There can be little valid generalization concerning holiday proliferation for the whole of Western Europe until more detailed regional studies have been made.
325. Moeller, op.cit., p.16 with bibliographical references.
326. Beissel, op.cit., p.96.
327. Zilliken, loc.cit., pp.132-35.
328. Ibid., p.138.

329. Constitution of the Archbishop Simon Islip (1362), cited by G.G. Coulton in his Medieval Village, Manor and Monastery (New York, 1960), p.256.
330. Conflation of materials in ibid., p.256ff. and idem, Life, Vol.1, pp.199-205.
331. Cross, op.cit., p.512. Cf. Coulton, Life, Vol.1, pp.242-43.
332. Cited in Coulton, Life, Vol.1., pp.199-200. Cf. Rodgers, op.cit., p.102.
333. Manning, op.cit., pp.126-32.
334. H.R. Luard (ed.), Roberti Grosseteste, Epistolae (Roll Series) (London, 1861), p75.
335. Rodgers, op.cit., p.80.
336. Ibid., pp.81-82. Villien, loc.cit., Vol.V., col.2186.
337. Rodgers, op.cit., p.102. Cf. Coulton, Life, op.cit., Vol.1, p.200: "...work-days are scarce enough now for the poor to earn their daily bread..."
338. Cf. Harvey, loc.cit., pp.307-8.
339. Folena, op.cit., pp.227-28.
340. Cf. Coulton, Medieval Village, pp.245-46 where his remarks are cited at some length.
341. Bruckner (ed.), op.cit., p.124 and passim. Cf. Rodgers, op.cit., pp92-99 on the whole subject of holiday violation.
342. Cf. Rodgers, op.cit., pp.82-83.
343. Ibid., p.83.
344. Ibid., pp.83-84.
345. Ibid., p.81.
346. Ibid., pp.104-5 and ftnt.24.
347. Ibid., p.20 and ftnt.54.
348. Cf. Vauchez, loc.cit., p.605 ftnt.1, con't p.606.
349. Rodgers, op.cit., pp.101-2.
350. E.g. Flick, op.cit., Vol.11, pp446, referring to the Council of Breslau (no date given: 1268?).
351. Rodgers, op.cit., p.83.

352. When in 1469 the Scottish Parliament intervened in holiday observances, its prohibition of more feasts than the designated major church holidays suggests, certainly, that additional feasts were in fact being celebrated. (See J.Dowden, The Medieval Church in Scotland (Glasgow, 1910), p.247)
353. For the efforts of Gerson and d'Ailly at Constance, see Rodgers, op.cit., pp.107-8.
354. Ibid., pp.108-9.
355. Beck, op.cit., p.314. Cf. Manning, op.cit., p.134.
356. Toussaert, op.cit., p.337. The liturgical cult of St. Nicholas of Bari might have continued without interruption.
357. The emergence of a secularized time-sense in the later Middle Ages is signalled in Glasser, op.cit., p.71ff.
358. J. Le Goff, "Temps de l'Eglise et temps du marchand", in Annales, Vol.XV (1960), pp.417-33 is characteristically brilliant without being persuasive; it is by no means a systematic argument.
359. L. Febvre, Le Problème de l'incroyance au xvi siècle. Le Religion de Rabelais. (Paris, 1942), p.371.
360. W. McMillan, "The Festivals and saint Days in Scotland after the Reformation", Records of the Scottish Church History Society, Vol.III (1929), pp.1-21; cf.p.7.
361. In calculating total saints, I have excluded all temporal feasts, all feasts of Jesus and Mary. Saint-groups have been counted as one, but when their individual members have been named, each has been counted singly. Vigils and octaves have been discounted. Translations have been included. Some repetition may have resulted from this procedure. New saints are those who died, were canonized, or translated after 1200. For the Westminster Abbey calendar, see: Wormald, Kalendars, Vol.11, pp.57-74.
362. A.J. Weidenbach, Calendarium Historico-Christianum Medii et Novi Aevi (Regensburg, 1855), pp.13; 99-110, the third column.
363. R. Lippe (ed.), Missale Romanum, Mediolani, 1474 (Henry Bradshaw Society, Vol.XVII), Vol.1 (London, 1899), pp.v, xiii-xxiv.
364. Cf. Andrieu, "Le Missal de la Chapelle papale à la fin du xiii^e siècle", in Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle, Vol.11 (Rome, 1924), where the calendar reproduced (pp.355-58) includes about fifteen saints canonized during the thirteenth century. (p.350)
365. Delehaye, Sanctus, pp.32-35; 217. Grabar's Martyrium and other standard works are listed in the notes to C.R. Cheney, "Church Building in the Middle Ages", Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Vol.XXXIV (1951), pp.20-36.

366. F. Petit, "L'Ordre de Prémontré de saint Norbert à Anselme de Havelberg", in La Vita Comune del Clero nei secoli XI e XII, Vol.1 (Milan, 1962), p.466.
367. P. Saintyes (E.Nourry), En marge de la légende dorée. (Paris, 1931), p.82.
368. Cf. Ibid., p.83.
369. See J. Gessler, "Notes sur l'incubation et ses survivances", in Le Muséon, Vol.LIX (1946), p.669 and notes.
370. Cited from Caxton's edition of the life of Edward the Confessor by T.C. White, "Early Renaissance Saints' Lives", in Annuaire Médiévale (Duquesne Studies), Vol.IV (1963) pp.93-123; the citation discussed, pp.94-96.
371. T.S. Ziolkowski, The Consecration and Blessing of Churches, a Historical Synopsis and Commentary (Cath. Univ. of America, Canon Law Studies, no.137) (Washington, D.C., 1943), p.10ff.
372. Ibid., p.14.
373. For the importance of relics in medieval ecclesiastical architecture, see the Cheney article referred to in fnnt. 365, esp. pp.22-24, and passim.
374. B. de Gaiffier, Études critiques, pp.20-21. Beissel, op.cit., p.30.
375. H.H. Wilman, History of Latin Christianity (3rd. ed.) Vol.IX, (London, 1864), p.61.
376. A.Vincent, Toponymie de la France (Brussels, 1937), p.337.
377. At one time Heiligengeographie was a contender for the name of the discipline: for an early Bollandist assessment, see AB, Vol.XXXI (1912), pp.387-88. And for a modern overview: AB, Vol.LXXXVI (1966), p.532-33.
378. Delehaye, in AB, Vol.XLVIII, (1930) p.32ff.
379. Coens' review of a work by M.Gender is important for its methodological observations; see AB, Vol.LXXIX (1961), pp. 139-92.
380. An early presentation of the new discipline's methods, aims and aspirations is: J. Trier, "Patrosinienforschung und Kulturgeographie", in Historische Zeitschrift, Vol.CXXXIV (1926), pp.319-49.
381. I concur with the negative verdict of R. Brentano, Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century (Princeton, 1963), p.233, fnnt.139. in F. Arnold-Forster's Studies in Church Dedications. Perhaps it also should be recalled that the titular of a church is its patron only if that titular is a person (persona creata) and not a mystery: on this see Ziolkowski op.cit., pp.71-73.

382. Brentano, op.cit., p.230.
383. Delehaye, AB, Vol. XLVIII (1930), p.25.
384. Tramontin, op.cit., p.63.
385. Delehaye, AB, Vol. XLVIII (1930), p.34.
386. Bond, op.cit., pp.146-48, 161.
387. Brentano's use of comparative dedications from Bologna and the county of Norfolk, op.cit., p.230ff, does not produce compelling conclusions.
388. Bond, op.cit., pp.191-93.
389. H.J. Kok, "Zur Patrozinienforschung in den Niederlanden", in Miscellanea Mediaevalia in Memoriam J.F. Niermeyer (Groningen, 1967), pp.407-18, especially see, pp.412-14.
390. H.C. Peyer, Stadt und Stadtpatron im Mittelalterlichen Italien (Wirtschaft Gesellschaft Staat--Zürcher Studien zur allgemeinen Geschichte, 13) (Zurich, 1955), pp.47-48, and fnnts.
391. Bond, op.cit., 189-90.
392. Lanzoni, Storia, op.cit., pp.373-376.
393. Dobson, op.cit., pp.18-19.
394. Delehaye, AB, Vol. XLVIII (1930), p.26 and fnnt, 1.
395. Cf. Schauerte, op.cit., p.104.
396. Cf. G. Imbrighi, I Santi nella toponomastica italiana (Rome, 1957), pp.40-41.
397. Kok, op.cit., p.409.
- 397a P. Sejourné, "Saints (Culte des)" in Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique (ed. Vacant & Mangenot), Vol. XIV (Paris, 1939), cols 870-978; here, col.940.
- 397b Ibid., Col.940.
398. Tramontin, op.cit., p.117.
399. Carpentier, op.cit., p.24.
400. J.M. Mackinlay, Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland. Non-Scriptural Dedications. (Edinburgh, 1914), pp.362-64; 379-81; 382-84. D.E. Easson, Medieval Religious Houses of Scotland (London, 1957), p.98. (unfortunately, very few dedications are listed in this book.) The bulk of these dedications, as one might have suspected, are for the religious houses of the mendicant orders. Given the number of unattributed Dominican

- priorities, it would have been curious if St. Dominic had never been a patronage choice. Most regretably, the fine surviving list of Bishop David de Bernham's church dedications from 1240 to 1249 very often only gives the location of a church and not its titular (see W. Lockhart, The Church of Scotland in the Thirteenth Century (Edinburgh & London, 1889), pp.46-63.
401. Cf. Cheney, "Church-Building", loc.cit., p.26ff. Bishop, op.cit., pp.20-38. Bihlmeyer, op.cit., Vol.11, p.119.
 402. Cf. Moeller, op.cit., p.16 and footnote.
 403. See Bond, op.cit., pp.12-14ff.
 404. Cited from a review in AB, Vol.LXXXII (1964), p.269.
 405. Brunacci, loc.cit., p.5.
 406. Kok, op.cit., p.415.
 407. See F. Pollock and F.W. Maintland, The History of English Law (2nd ed., reprint), (Cambridge, 1952), Vol.1, pp.243-44;499-500.
 408. Cited by Dobson, op.cit., p.12, and footnote 2.
 409. Leroquais, Bréviaires, Vol.1., p.lxxv.
 410. J. Smet, The Life of St. Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mézières (Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana, Vol.11), (Rome, 1954), p.162.
 411. Reber, op.cit., p.83.
 412. Ibid., p.87.
 413. Delehaye, AB, Vol.XLVIII (1930), p.5.
 414. Cf. C. Pietri, "Concordia apostolorum et renovatio urbis (cult des martyrs et propagande pontificale)", in Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire (École française de Rome), Vol.LXXIII (1961) pp.275-322.
 415. Cf. Cowdrey, loc.cit., pp.54-56. Note especially, C. Erdmann, Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens (Stuttgart, 1935), e.g. pp.324-25 and passim.
 416. An observation of Dobson's, op.cit., p.18.
 417. Notice by B. de Gaiffier of R. Bellelli, "Il portulano dei santi del 'mare nostrum'", Lea navale italiana. sez. di Salerno (Salerno, 1938), in AB, Vol.LVII (1939), pp.452-54.
 418. Kern, loc.cit., p.240.
 419. Ibid., p.238, fnnt.1 citing from AB, Vol.XIX (1900), p.26.

420. Ancelet-Hustache, op.cit., pp.336-39.
421. Dendy, op.cit., p.116.
422. Ibid., pp.117-19.
423. Cited in ibid., p.117.
424. H. Leclercq, "Ex-voto" in Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie (ed. Chabrol), Vol.V.I. (Paris, 1922), cols 1037-49.
425. Beissel, op.cit., pp.131-33. Malden, op.cit., pp.x, xiv-xvi; pp.42-44, 71-72, 76-77. (Many other similar instances could be adduced.)
426. Trexler, loc.cit., p.8, and references.
427. Folena, op.cit., pp.20-21.
- 427a Heitz, op.cit., Vol.LXXXVIII (ed. C.Dodgson) (Strasbourg, 1936), p.11 and woodcut no.22.
428. See L. Deubner, De Incubatione (Leipzig, 1900) and the unsigned review of the book (probably by H.Delehaye) in AB, Vol.XX (1901) pp.324-26. Also see the arguments of H.Delehaye's Legends of the Saints, pp.152-56.
- 428a Cf. M.Hamilton, Incubation or the Cure of Disease in Pagan Temples and Christian Churches, (London, 1906).
429. Cf. Beck, op.cit., pp.298-99. Delaruelle in Pellegrinaggi, pp.223, 240. Some references in a twelfth century English context may be found in C.J. Holdsworth, "Visions and Visionaries in the Middle Ages", in History, Vol.XLVIII (1963), pp.141-53.
430. Mallardo, loc.cit., pp.465-98 for whole article; here see particularly pp.498; 467ff; 486-92; 492-98.
431. Gessler, loc.cit., pp.661-70. H.Silvestre, "Note complémentaire sur l'incubation et ses survivances", in Revue du moyen âge latin, Vol.V (1949), pp.141-48.
432. See, to choose one example, how the mother of St. Lucy is cured after a night spent at St. Agatha's tomb in which the saint appears in a dream: Graesse, op.cit., p.30.
433. Woolley, op.cit., p.163ff, 175-80.
434. For tenth to twelfth century examples of what, despite increasing pilgrimage accommodation, was undoubtedly a continuing phenomenon, see E-R.Labande, "Ad limina': Le pèlerin médiéval au terme de sa démarche", in Mélanges René Crozet, Vol.1, (Poitiers, 1966), 283-91.

435. G. Le Bras, "Asile", in DHGE, Vol. IV (Paris, 1930) cols. 1035-47; here, col.1039.
436. Ibid., col.1041.
437. Ibid., col.1042.
438. Cf. J.C. Cox, The Sanctuaries and Sanctuary Seekers of Mediaeval England (London, 1911), p.ix. For sanctuary in English law, see Pollock and Maitland, op.cit., Vol.1, pp565-66, and Vol.1b, pp.590-91.
439. Cox, op.cit., pp. 126-27.
440. Many instances cited ibid., and in ^agenerally poor article by C. Williamson, "On Mediaeval Sanctuary", American Catholic Quarterly Review, Vol.XLV (1920), pp.646-65.
441. See Le Bras, supra, cols.1044-47. For England: I.D. Thornley, "The Destruction of Sanctuary", in Tudor Studies (ed. R.W. Seton-Watson) (London, 1924), pp.182-207.
442. Cf. Erdmann, passim. Later writers like Joinville frequently call the Crusaders pilgrims.
443. B. de Gaiffier, Études critiques, pp.43-45.
444. Malden, op.cit., pp.x, 45.
445. Chélini, op.cit., p.471.
446. See the general discussion of early medieval pilgrims by C. Jenkins in A.P. Newton (ed.), Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages (London, 1926), pp.39-69; here, p.43.
447. J. Delalande, Les extraordinaires croisades d'enfants et de pasteureaux au moyen âge (Paris, 1962), pp.66,85.
448. See J.A. Brundage, "'Cruce Signari': The Rite for Taking the Cross in England", in Traditio, Vol.XXII (1966), pp289-310, especially pp.289-91.
449. F. Garrisson, "A propos des pèlerins et de leur condition juridique", in Études d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à G. LeBras (Paris, 1965), Vol.11, pp.1165-89; see pp.1166-67; 1180ff.
450. Ibid., pp.1170-77.
451. Cf. Graesse, op.cit., pp.403-6. de Gaiffier, Études critiques p.49 and fnnt. 1.
452. See Dom Baudot, Dictionnaire d'hagiographie (Paris,1925),p.654.
453. T.E. Bridgett, "St. William of Perth and Rochester: a Saint omitted by Butler", in The Month, Vol.LXXII (1891), pp.501-8

- and references there cited. Also see Forbes, op.cit.
454. M. Bishop, Petrarch and his World (London 1964), pp.317-18. Cf. E.H. Wilkins, Life of Petrarch, (Chicago, 1961), p.125.
 455. F.J. Carmody (ed.), Brunetto Latini, Li Livres dou Tresor (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1948), p.62.
 456. Y.Renouard, "Le pèlerinage à Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle et son importance dans le monde médiéval", Revue historique, Vol.CCVI (1951), pp.254-61. Cf. J.Viellard, Le Guide du pèlerin de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle (Macon, 1938), and particularly Chapter 8; note the review by B. de Gaiffier in AB, Vol.LVI (1938), pp.416-18.
 457. Cf. Riant, loc.cit., p.158. The use of papal indulgences in medieval popular religion is very important, but cannot be discussed here.
 458. Cf. Chélini, op.cit., p.471. Delalande, op.cit., p.57-95.
 459. Dobson, op.cit., p.28-29. R. Foreville, Le Jubilé de saint Thomas Becket du xiii au xv siècle (Paris, 1958), pp.12-13; 14-17.
 460. J.J. Jusserand, English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages (transl. Smith) (2nd ed.) (London, 1920), p.347, ftnt.1.
 461. L. Sherley-Price (transl.), St. Francis of Assisi. A new version of the 'Mirror of Perfection' together with all the known writings of the saint. (London, 1959), pp.152-53. E.Delaruelle, "L'influence de saint François d'Assise sur le piété populaire", in X Congresso...Relaz., Vol.III, pp. 449-66; for this citation, p.458.
 462. Riant, loc.cit., p.52.
 - 462a. Jusserand, op.cit., pp.339-43.
 463. The two lists do not accord completely. The latter is cited and analyzed by C.Vogel, "Le pèlerinage pénitential", in Pellegrinaggi, pp.39-94; for the list, p.69. For Gui's list, see E. van Cauwenbergh, Les pèlerinages expiatoires et judiciaires dans le droit communal de la Belgique au moyen âge (Univ. de Louvain, Recueil de travaux...d'hist., fasc.48), (Louvain, 1922), p.19 and ftnt.3.
 464. Ibid., p.19.
 465. For example, the recent Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte by H.Jedin, et al. (Freiburg, 1970), p.18., 'Die Wallfahrtsorte der Antike und des Mittelalters' is not only woefully incomplete, but also indiscriminating in what it does include.
 466. Van Cauwenbergh, op.cit., pp.vii, 25-30, 169ff, 222-36. Cf. de Gaiffier, Études critiques, pp.401-7. A recent article per-

- taining to one shrine is F.-L. Ganshof, "Pèlerinages expiatoires flamands à Saint-Gilles pendant le xiv^e siècle", Annales du Midi, Vol.LXXVIII (1966), pp.391-407.
467. Van Cauwenbergh, op.cit., pp.138-46 for the register as a whole; for Bl. Peter of Luxemburg's shrine-at Avignon- p.140.
468. Ibid., p.141: at Marseille.
469. Ibid., p.141: at Noyon, if indeed this is for Louis IX.
470. Ibid., p.144: at Assisi and at Mount Alverno.
471. Cf. R. Bauerreiss, Pie Jesu. Das Schmerzensmann-Bild und sein Einfluss auf die Mittelalterliche Frömmigkeit (Munich, 1931), pp.22-79 for an inventory of some of these sites.
472. See U.Chevalier, Notre Dame de Lorette (Paris, 1906), esp. p.210ff.
473. De Gaiffier, Études critiques, p.421.
474. Riant, loc.cit., p.125.
475. In a study in preparation, Dr. Angus MacKay will be examining the clerical poet Gonzalo de Berceo whose Vida de san Millán (thirteenth century) was written in order to attract pilgrims and thus raise revenue for the abbey in Castile under the saint's protection.
476. Many examples in the P.Heitz series. Cf. also a fifteenth century advertisement from Augsburg in E.A. Stükelberg, Geschichte der Reliquien in der Schweiz (Schriften der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, 1 & 5) Vol 1 (Zurich, 1902), p.xxxvii.
477. Delalande, op.cit., pp.66, 119. (Such effigies are an important historical source for the study of pilgrimages.)
478. Garrisson, op.cit., pp.1168-70.
479. De Gaiffier, Études critiques, p.49.
480. N. Bailey (transl.), The Colloquies of Erasmus (London, 1878), Vol.11, pp.1-37. A general discussion of later medieval pilgrimage occurs in DELARUELLE, pp.796-810; for criticism of pilgrimages, see pp.807-8.
- 481.. H.S. Bennett, Six Medieval Men and Women (New York, 1962), pp.124-50.
482. Delehayé, Sanctus, p.196.
483. Of course there are a good many studies of particular aspects of the cult, and there are also several brief overviews. Unfortunately, the cult of relics has invited a kind of

historical polemic which retails more opinion than information.

484. MacCulloch, Medieval Faith and Fable, p.148.
485. A.G. Ferrers Howell (transl.), "The first Life of S. Francis of Assisi by Brother Thomas of Celano", in M. Lovett Cameron, The Inquiring Pilgrim's Guide to Assisi (London, 1926), p.242.
486. Cahier, op.cit., Vol.11, p.743. I have been unable to verify Cahier's source. Would BHL 3059-61, Translatio Gracoviana an. 1184 shed light on the story?
487. Wilmart, op.cit., p.48 and fnnt.3.
488. See the notice of H. Delehaye concerning J.A. Brutails, "La question de saint Fort" (1916), an extract from the Actes de l'Académie des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Bordeaux, in AB, Vol. XXXVIII (1920), pp.427-29. Cf. the account of the rise of St. Amphibalus venerated at St. Albans: he was probably the English protomartyr's cloak (see G.G. Coulton, Five Centuries of Religion, Vol.111 (Cambridge, 1936), p.113.)
489. H. Delehaye, "Saints de Tolentino. La Vita S. Catervi" in AB, Vol. LXI (1943), pp.5-28; for the quoted riformanze and its source, p.10.
490. E. Molinier, Inventaire du trésor du saint siège sous Boniface VIII (1295), (Paris, 1888) (extract from the Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Chartes, 1882-88), p.78 and fnnt.1: a basket-shaped reliquary.
491. Ibid., items chosen from pp.78-80. Inventories are among the most crucial documents for historical study in examining the cult of relics. So far as I know the invaluable catalogue of F. de Mely and E. Bishop, Bibliographie générale des inventaires imprimés, 2 Vols. (Paris, 1892-94), has neither been completed nor brought up-to-date. It goes without saying that inventories also include items other than relics and reliquaries. The most comprehensive discussion of relic inventories, in the context of a very useful introduction to the kinds of lipsanographic documents, is included in Stükelberg, op.cit., Vol.1, pp. xxxiv-xlvff.
492. Delehaye, Sanctus, p.196. MacCulloch, Medieval Faith and Fable, p.139.
493. Thurston, "Relics", loc.cit., p.736ff, for some instances.
494. Beck, op.cit., pp.303-4. MacCulloch, supra, p.140, passim.
495. Stükelberg, op.cit., Vol.1, p.lxxvii. Cf. AB, Vol. XXIX (1910), p.341.
496. Cf. AB, Vol. XXV (1906), p.368. The collection of the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh includes some medieval bell relics and reliquaries, e.g. KA4-6 and LA 21.

497. Delehaye, in AB, Vol.XLVIII (1930), pp.45-46
498. J.A. MacCulloch, "Relics", in Encyclop. of Religion and Ethics (ed. J.Hastings), Vol.X (Edinburgh, 1918), pp.653-58; here, p.655.
499. Coulton, From St. Francis to Dante, pp.167, 391 ftnt.11.
500. Cahier, op.cit., Vol.11, pp.773. Cf. Muratori, op.cit., pp. 234-5.
501. Ancelet-Hustache, op.cit., pp.356-57.
502. Schauerte, op.cit., p.104.
503. This is mentioned in a polemical work which is nevertheless useful as a repertory: J.A.S. Collin de Plancy, Dictionnaire critique des reliques et des images miraculeuses, 3 Vols. (Paris, 1821-22); blood relics are treated in Vol.1, pp.14-15.
504. See AB, Vol.XC (1972), p.231.
505. Cf. Browe, as previously cited in Chapter 1, ftnt.258.
506. This role of the cult of relics is stressed in a wide-ranging article which lists items but does little more: W.Bonser, "The Cult of Relics in the Middle Ages", Folklore, Vol.LXXII (1962), pp.234-56.
507. Frank, op.cit., p.198.
508. H.Silvestre, "Commerce et vol de reliques au moyen age", Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire, Vol.XXX (1952), pp.721-39; here p.738.
509. KEMP, pp.2-6.
510. Cf. Delehaye, AB, Vol.XLVIII (1930), pp.9-11.
511. Cf. Beck, op.cit., p.302, ftnt,67. Q.V. Ducange.
512. Translated and cited in Milburn, op.cit., p.18.
513. Cf. E. LeBlanc, "Le vol de reliques", Revue Archeologique, 3rd. ser., Vol.IX (1887), pp.317-28; see p.318ff.
514. Cited in Tramontin, op.cit., p.77.
515. Idem., Five Centuries, Vol.111, pp.87-102, and passim.
516. Ibid., Vol.111, pp.102-7, passim.
517. Riant, loc.cit., pp.4-5 (the same theme is pursued, p.5ff, passim)
518. See. P.Hélicot and M-L. Chastang, "Quêtes et voyages de reliques

- au profit des églises francaises du moyen age", Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastiques, Vol.LIX (1964), pp.789-822; VolLX (1965), pp. 5-32. For fund-raising journeys where relics are not explicitly mentioned, see the list in Vol.LIX, pp 792-96.
519. Ibid., Vol.LIX, pp.796-99 for journeys with relics. Coulton, Five Centuries, refers to relic tours in Vol.III, pp.121-29. Beissel, op.cit., says that despite abuses and false relics and repeated condemnation of these by church councils through the fourteenth century, "almost all our medieval (German) churches were built with the help of alms collectors" and sometimes only with reference to the relics of saints was collection possible, pp.14-17.
 520. Cf. Thurston, "Relics", loc.cit., p.737.
 521. P. Saintyves (E.Nourry), op.cit., pp.41-43, passim.
 522. S. Bernardini Senensis, op.cit., Vol.Vi (1959), p.176.
 523. The lay brothers who ran the Sienese hospital of Santa Maria della Scala were involved in a protracted quarrel with interfering canons of the cathedral; although the hospital was founded by the canons, the lay brotherhood wanted a lay founder and thus in the fourteenth century diffused the story of a certain pious cobbler named, appropriately, Sutore or Sorore. In 1492 a funeral urn was found in the hospital inscribed B. Soror (Blessed Sister?) and was immediately hailed as containing the relics of the lay founder. (See Schevill, op.cit., pp.90-93 and the relevant notes, and Lanzoni, Genesi...leggende, p.140 and references.)
 524. L. Carolus-Barré, "Saint Louis et la translation des corps saints", Etudes d'histoire du droit canonique...LeBras, Vol.11, pp.1087-1112. See pp.1104-08.
 525. Cf. Garrisson, Studies, Vol.1, p.133.
 526. Stükelberg, op.cit., Vol.1, pp.ci-cii.
 527. Cf. A.G. Jongkees, loc.cit., pp.41-51.
 528. KEMP, p.29.
 529. Pastor, op.cit., Vol.1 (1891), pp.230-31. Pastor follows Raynaldus in giving the date as 1424. But Kaftal, Attwater, and the BHL, Vol.11, p.875 say 1430.
 530. Kaftal-Tuscan, cols.749-52; Attwater, op.cit., p.216.
 531. Carolus-Barré, supra, has studied his attendance record, and, making no claim for completeness, describes Louis's presence at eight such occasions between 1247 and 1262 - a period interrupted by the King's captivity in Egypt!
 532. Foreville, op.cit., pp.7-9.

533. Riant, loc.cit., describes the ceremonies associated with the arrival of translated Byzantine relics, pp.72-74.
534. Pastor, op.cit., Vol.111 (1894), pp.258-61 for the actual ceremony; for the reception of the relic, see pp.249-51.
535. M. Bishop, (ed.transl.), Letters from Petrarch (Bloomington and London, 1966), p.88. Cf. Wilkins, op.cit., p.88.
536. Heywood, op.cit., p.84.
537. Cf. Kaftal-Tuscan, p.xxxiii and Peyer, cited supra, fnnt.390.
538. Stuckelberg, op.cit., Vol.1, pp.37-60; Vol.11, pp.24-30.
539. Carolus-Barré, loc.cit., pp.1098-1100. Cf. Stuckelberg, op.cit., Vol.1, pp.41-42.
540. Silvestre, loc.cit., pp.722-23; 729. KEMP, p.28.
541. Riant, loc.cit., p.60, passim.
542. Ibid., p.60.
543. Ibid., pp.8, 50-51. Cf. J.Longnon, "L'arrivée de la Couronne d'Epines en France", in Revue des Deux Mondes, 8th series, Vol.LII (1939), pp.207-14.
544. Silvestre, loc.cit., pp.723-29.
545. Cf. Dejob, op.cit., pp.381-82 for several specific instances.
546. Cf. A. Frolow, Recherches sur la deviation de la iv^e croisade vers Constantinople (Paris, 1955), p.50ff., pp.57-58.
547. Delehaye, Sanctus, pp.199-204. LeBlanc, loc.cit., pp.320-21, 328. Saintyves (Nourry), op.cit., pp.495-98, passim.
548. Ibid., p.445ff. Silvestre, loc.cit., p.731ff.
549. See the footnotes 547 and 548 for the studies cited there.
550. Dejob, op.cit., pp.380-381.
551. DELARUELLE, p.1090 fnnt.1 con't. p.1091.
- 551a. Saintyves (Nourry), op.cit., pp.500-505. See also Coulton, Five Centuries, Vol.111, p.130ff for further instances in early and later medieval history. Cf. Stuckelberg, op.cit., Vol.1, p.54, Vol.11, p.29, passim.
552. Cf. Fliche, loc.cit., p.353.
553. Silvestre, loc.cit., pp.737-39.
554. On the circulation of relics in the early Middle Ages, note

- Bishop, op.cit., pp.26-27. Umbrian saints: B. de Gaiffier in AB, Vol.LXXIII (1965), pp.55-56, 65. Idem., "Saints et légendiers de l'Ombrie", in Atti del II Convegno di Studi Umbria (Perugia, 1965), pp.235-56; here pp.247-50.
555. P. Munz, Frederick Barbarossa (London, 1969), p.238ff.
556. Stükelberg, op.cit., Vol.1, p.lxxxii; p.76, no379; p.79, no. 393; passim.
557. Ibid., pp.lxxx-lxxxi.
558. For Venice, note de Gaiffier's review of H.C. Peyer in AB, Vol. LXXVI (1958), pp.444-445. For Bari, cf. A.Gambacorta, "Culto e pellegrinaggi a san Nicola di Bari fino alla prima crociata", in Pellegrinaggi..., pp.487-502.
559. Frolow, op.cit., p.52ff.
560. Riant, loc.cit., pp.32-38.
561. Cf. Riant, pp.38-39.
562. Ibid., p.40ff. Bishop Conrad of Halberstadt, who handsomely endowed his cathedral with former Byzantine relics when he returned to his city, is a good illustration: ibid., p.42.
563. Ibid., pp.45-49.
564. Ibid., p.49.
565. Ibid., p.52. Cf. Tramontin, op.cit., p.198ff.
566. See F. Miklosich and J. Müller (ed.), Acta et Diplomata Monasteriorum et Ecclesiarum Orientis, Vol.11 (reprinted, Darmstadt, 1968), pp.273-75. I am indebted to Dr. Michael Angold for bringing this interesting example of later medieval relic circulation from the East to my notice.
567. Here one must of course refer to a very significant book, whose method could be profitably applied to other cults and devotions: A.Frolow, La relique de la vraie croix (Paris, 1961).
568. Cf. AB, Vol.XC (1972), p.199.
569. Schauerte, op.cit., p.141 makes this point.
570. See Stükelberg, op.cit., Vol.1, p.cx for a list of royal collectors.
571. Cf. R.W. Southern, "The Church of the Dark Ages", in The Layman in Christian History (ed. Neill and Weber) (London, 1963), p.90. The whole discussion, p.88ff., on the cult of relics in the early medieval period is of interest.
572. Riant, loc.cit., p.82.

573. Wm. Jones, Finger-ring Lore (new ed.) (London, 1898), pp.142-43; 258-59.
574. Cf. Stuckelberg, op.cit., Vol.1, p.xci
575. St. Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, Vol.XL: Superstition and Irreverence (ed. O'Meara and Duffy) (London, 1968), pp.80-85 for the discussion on wearing amulets; p.84 for the quotation.
576. Riant, loc.cit., p.52.
577. Ibid., p.68, ftnt.2.
578. On this instance, see M.Veissière, Une communauté canoniale au moyen âge: Saint-Quirace de Provins (xi-xiii siècles) (Provins, 1961), p.120ff. On the general eagerness to acquire relics of titular saints of Western churches, see Riant, loc.cit., pp.30, 65 ftnt.3.
579. Again, Riant's analysis of the relic preferences of the Latins is reasonable and is supported by the catalogue he also diligently compiled. Riant, loc.cit., p.29.
580. Ibid., pp.177-211 for the "inventaire-sommaire": I wish to emphasize that statistical treatment of this collection of jewels, images, church vessels, reliquaries, unspecified relic bags, imperial insignia, and identifiable relic fragments presents a number of problems and that my figures must not be considered more reliable than approximations.
581. Comte de Riant, Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae, (Geneva, 1876), Vol.1, pp.20-21. Cf. also pp.121-22, and Vol.11, pp. 197-99.
582. Stuckelberg, op.cit., Vol.1, pp.37-60, and Vol.11, pp.24-30 for 1200-1400; Vol.1, pp.60-84, and Vol.11, pp.30-41, 167-68 for 1400-1500. It must be understood that the figure tabulated - 772 relics of old saints, i.e. relics identified by name - is necessarily merely a point of comparison with the named relics of new saints. The names, dates of earliest and latest mention, and relative popularity of these new saints might be of interest (especially in showing the dominance of Italy over the new saints in Swiss relic collections). This list includes altar dedications:
- | | | |
|---|-------|------------------------|
| St. Clara (1271-1494) | ----- | mentioned eight times. |
| St. Francis (1225?-14th c.) | ----- | " four " |
| St. Peter Martyr (1259-1458) | ----- | " four " |
| St. Celestine (V?) (1343) | ----- | " three " |
| St. Elizabeth of Hungary (1343-15th c.) | ----- | " three " |
| St. Thomas Becket (1343) | ----- | " two " |
| St. Agnes of Assisi (?) (1343) | ----- | " once |
| St. Anthony of Padua (13th c.) | ----- | " once |
| St. Dominic (1409) | ----- | " once |
| St. Vincent Ferrier (1458) | ----- | " once |
| St. Catherine of Siena (1464) | ----- | " once |
| St. Bernardino of Siena (?) (1474) | ----- | " once |

St. Peter of Luxembourg (1491) ——— mentioned once
 Bl. Manfredus (d. 1217) (1387 transl) " once
 Bl. Anglosaxons (pilgrim-martyrs, d. 1309) " once
 Bl. James of Germany, O.P. (d. Bologna, 1491) " in 16th C.
 Bl. Gisela of Veltheim (d. 1277) " in 15th C.

583. For chronology, see J.F. Benton, Self and Society in Medieval France (New York, 1970), pp. 238-39.
584. Most recent French text and discussion in F.M. Higman (ed.), Jean Calvin, Three French Treatises (London, 1970).
585. Cf. Stükelberg, op.cit., Vol. 1, pp. cxi-cxii refers to critics within and without these chronological borders.
586. Cf. Dejob, op.cit., p. 378. A reference to Boccaccio is surely unnecessary here, but Sacchetti's tale of the Dominican Taddeo Dini, who, preaching at Bologna, is forced to exhibit a putative arm of St. Catherine deserves to be mentioned. Exhibiting the arm, he said: '...the sisters of this convent say that this arm which you see is the arm of St. Catherine. I have been to Mount Sinai and I have seen the body of St. Catherine all complete, and especially with two arms; but if she had three arms, this is the third....' Sacchetti comments: "Faith is a good thing...but truly the vice of avarice causeth much deceit in the matter of relics." Translation from M.G. Steegmann, Tales from Sacchetti (London, 1908), pp. 35-36; her no. 9, and no. LX in the Italian editions.
587. Mayer, op.cit., p. 246; desire to see relics, pp. 243-47ff.
588. Hefele, op.cit., pp. 33-34 with notes.
589. Cf. Bihlmeyer, op.cit., Vol. 11, p. 128.
590. Riant, loc.cit., pp. 61, 66-67, 80-81, 96, 114, 121-22. Certificates of authenticity were hardly new. Cf. comments and references in II Convegno di Studi Umbri, pp. 53, 239-40. Stükelberg, op.cit., Vol. 1, pp. xiv-xxiii includes a discussion of these Beglaubigungen or oedulae which are preserved from Merovingian times.
591. Note, Mayer, supra; and Chelini, op.cit., p. 470.
592. To a certain extent such an impression must remain incapable of strict demonstration or quantification. But the evidence at first hand is often compelling. For example, the ninth century relic inventory of Jouarre which is given in A. Wilmart, Analecta Reginensia (Studi e Testi, 59) (Vatican City, 1933), pp. 9-14 (analysis, index of saints) and pp. 14-17 (text) is small indeed if compared with the 1343 relic catalogue of the cathedral of Osnabrück, for which see Dr. Fink (ed.), "Ein Reliquienverzeichnis des Osnabrücker Domes aus dem Jahre 1343", in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, Vol. XXVII (1906), pp. 465-472. Note also the coming of vernacular inventories of impressive dimensions: e.g. a Lucerne catalogue of 1460 repro-

duced by Stöckelberg, op.cit., Vol.1, pp.xliii-xlv. It seems valid to maintain that on the whole relic inventories grow longer in the later Middle Ages. A great increase in claimed relic holdings at the end of the Middle Ages is noted by Albert & Hauck, "Relics", Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th ed., Vol.XXIII (Cambridge, 1911), pp.59-61. Stöckelberg, op.cit., Vol.1, n.lxxxviii, speaks of huge numbers of relic particles claimed for later medieval altars: e.g. at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the cathedral of Halle claimed 8833 relics. But, as Collin de Plancy observed (op.cit., Vol.1, p.xlvii): "Ce n'étaient pas les lieux les plus fournis (with relics) qui jouissaient de la plus belle réputation." Doesn't the later medieval stress on quantity in some relic collections imply a realization that a truly famous relic was lacking?

593. 1. Bishop, Ietrarch, p.221: for 25 November 1343.
594. For one instance out of many possible ones, cf. Dejob, op.cit., p.331.
595. Gorce, op.cit., p.83.
596. Cf. MacCulloch, Medieval Faith, p.143 on relics of Pancheln and the Templar Le Molay. Also, see J.A.F. Thomson, The Later Lollards, 1414-1520 (Oxford, 1965), p.156 where the burning of the Lycliffite Joan Boughton at Smithfield on 23 April 1494 is described: "As at the burning of Wyche (Richard Wyche, a Lollard saint and martyr, burnt in 1440: pp.143-50) ...the followers of the deceased appear to have sought relics at the place of execution, for it is told that on the night after the burning the greater part of the ashes of the fire were removed 'and keryd ffor a precious relyk, in an urtheryn pott...!'"
597. Trexler, loc.cit., p.29, and fnnt.63.
598. See Betts in Il Congresso, p.426. Coulton, Ten Medieval Studies, p.192 is referring to modern Sicily with medieval precedents clearly in mind.
599. Cf. P. Toynbee, Dante Alighieri (3rd ed.) (London, 1905), pp.123-39, and E. H. Carr, The Italian Renaissance in its Historical Background (Cambridge, 1966), p.123.

CHAPTER III

THE LATER MEDIEVAL SAINTS AND THEIR CULT:

Hagiography, Demography, Veneration

Critics and reformers may have decried abuses in the relic traffic or mocked pilgrimages, they may have attacked holiday behaviour and insisted upon a reduction in the number of saints' days, but their accusations were aimed only at some of the manifestations of the cult of saints, not at its doctrinal roots. Until the coming of the Reformation, the most consistent of those who denied that the saints heard the prayers of living men and interceded on their behalf were the Waldensians, and neither their teachings, nor those of some followers of Wycliffe and Hus who agreed with them¹ found favour in orthodox councils.

Heretics, in fact, were more likely to produce their own saints than to challenge the prevailing notions of sanctity. Of Fra Michele da Calci who in Florence, 1389, paid for his Fraticelli principles at the stake, "many of the onlookers said, 'He seems to be a saint.'"² Fleeting popular impressions were one thing; far more serious to the Church was the danger of heretical 'saints' actually receiving public veneration from the misguided faithful. That is what happened at Ferrara in 1269 when an apparent holy man of pure and ascetic habits died. The death of Armano Pongiluppo was soon followed by miracles. His tomb became a shrine; an altar was erected; pilgrims brought their offerings; and Armano's chapel became crowded with images and ex-votos. The cathedral chapter who guarded his relics and benefited from donations threw its

weight behind popular sentiment and called for Armanno's canonization. Opposed was the Inquisition, whose records identified the putative saint as a leading Cathar who had abjured his heresy before their tribunal in 1254, and had afterwards relapsed. Armanno's defenders and accusers contended with one another for thirty-two years until, in 1301, Pope Boniface VIII declared for the Inquisition. Then the bones of the would-be saint were cast out of the consecrated ground and burnt.³ The fact that there were similar cases⁴ showed the Papacy how important it was to scrutinize the orthodoxy of candidates for canonization. A more insidious threat, however, came from heretics who attached themselves to the circle of those who had died in the odor of sanctity and then manipulated the cult for their own ends, as happened in the story of the pious Guglielma of Milan (d.1381), whom her heretical devotees transformed into an incarnation of the Holy Ghost.⁵

According to Émile Mâle, medieval Christians looked at saints in two ways: as models worthy of imitation and as powerful protectors, intercessors, and patrons worthy of cult.⁶ Naturally, the saint could be imitated only for his virtues, not for his miracles, and so preachers and hagiographers who might be holding the saint up as an exemplary human being would stress his behaviour in human situations, in general seeking to make his conduct conform to the highest standards appropriate to his status in life.⁷ Ecclesiastics serving on canonization inquiries would thus be sure to examine both the candidate's curriculum vitae and his status in life with care, for canonization, in effect, created the models of sanctity which the Papacy thought were most desirable at the time for the whole

of Christendom.⁸ Concerning the saints as intercessors and protectors, however, the theologians had the last word.

Well before the later Middle Ages, the fundamental doctrines on the mediation of the saints had been settled.⁹ Of the theological disputes of that time, none seem to have encoached upon, let alone impugned, these doctrines. When on All Saints, 1331, Pope John XXII preached against the generally accepted but as yet ill-defined belief that the souls of the just (the saints) enjoy the Beatific Vision immediately after death, maintaining that only after the Last Judgment would they be able to behold the divine essence, his ideas met with strong opposition and were speedily repudiated by his successor Benedict XII in 1336.¹⁰ One might have supposed that part of the controversy would have involved the validity of the intercession of the saints, but if one examines the various points at issue, it seems that the matter was never raised by any of the chief participants in the debate.¹¹

Leading thirteenth century theologians like St. Bon^aventura maintained that the saints have the power to help others, that when their help is sought they are able to intercede for the Church militant and offer its members their prayers.¹² Much of what St. Thomas Aquinas wrote in his commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard regarding the invocation and intercession of saints was reiterated almost two hundred years later in a sermon by St. Bernardino of Siena, whose indebtedness at this point to St. Thomas has evidently not been noticed.¹³ St. Thomas takes up the question: "Utrum debeamus sanctos orare ad interpellandum pro nobis."¹⁴ He

begins by summoning objections (e.g. Christ is the only necessary intercessor), which are in turn contradicted by scriptural and patristic texts, and the tradition of the Church ("Ad hoc est communis consuetudo Ecclesiae, quae in litanis sanctorum orationem petit"). He concludes his respondeo:

Et inde est quod eos intercessores pro nobis ad Deum constituimus et quasi mediatores, dum ab eis petimus quod pro nobis orent.

There is no need to pursue St. Thomas's argument in great detail, but some points of his solutio secundum illuminate modes of thought current outside the theological classroom and so deserve to be considered. Thomas and Bernardino draw a distinction between "superiores sancti" and "inferiores" (Bernardino citing Olivi says that it is better and also more useful to pray to the Mother of Christ "quam ad alios sanctos inferiores"); yet they argue "utile tamen est etiam minores sanctos interdum (Bernardino omits this word but otherwise follows Thomas verbatim) orare."

Now at this juncture it is worth stressing that with saints as with so much else in medieval life there existed a desire to establish hierarchies. Owst considers a sermon by an early fourteenth century preacher whose main concern is to show that St. Thomas Becket occupies the front rank among all the martyrs in the history of the Church ('for certain persons strive to extol other martyrs above Thomas, as for example Peter of Milan'); but to this preacher, Becket died in the noblest of causes, greater even than that for which St. John the Baptist met his death ('always saving the greater sanctity of John').¹⁵ In hagiography, it was not unusual to make claims for one's hero or patron at the expense of

possible rivals.¹⁶ Hence Thomas a Kempis, who had himself written the lives of Groote, Florentius, and their early disciples, and who knew the perils of hagiography at first hand,¹⁷ could say in his Imitation of Christ:

... do not inquire or dispute concerning the merits of the Saints: which of them is holier than another, or which greater in the Kingdom of Heaven. Such questions often breed strife and unprofitable contention... whence arise envies and dissensions, while one man proudly prefers this Saint and another that... And he that disparages any one of the Saints, disparages Me also... Therefore, let carnal and sensual men... be silent upon the subject of the state of the Saints.¹⁸

But the attempt to establish hierarchies among the saints certainly persisted, for such disputes were satirized in the Epistolae obscurorum virorum, on the eve of the Reformation.¹⁹

Thomas Aquinas gives five reasons why it is useful to pray to lesser saints, while Bernardino of Siena manages to echo his master in four reasons. Basically, St. Thomas argues that individual devotional preferences vary, that praying to diverse saints can excite a new fervor, that all saints should receive the honor which is their due, and that the prayers of many saints may accomplish what the prayers of one may not.²⁰ Yet the most interesting reason of all, for our purposes, is Thomas's third one, which pertains to the special patronages of saints. It may be set alongside Bernardino's second reason, which is more expansive on the same subject.

Thomas

Tertio, quia quibusdam sanctis datum est in aliquibus specialibus causis praecipue patrocinari [sicut sancto Antonio ad ignem infernales].²¹

Bernardino

Secundo, propter gratiarum impetrationem. Nam quibusdam sanctis divinitus datum est in aliquibus spiritualibus causis praecipue patrocinari, sicut sancto Antonio de Padua

Ordinis Minorum quotidie
 eius patrociniis gratiae et
 miracula impetrare; sanctae
 Luciae multi pro conservatione
 corporalis luminis, et sancto
 Nicolao, ut evadant a maris
 periculis, devotione recurrunt;
 et sic de multis aliis sanctis.²²

Thomas and Bernardino both acknowledge that God has granted special patronages to some saints. Thomas himself might or might not have adduced St. Anthony Abbot and the disease called St. Anthony's fire (erysipelas), but Bernardino must have seen the passage, since he substitutes his Franciscan confrère for an earlier and more famous namesake, without, however, assigning a precise speciality to the Miracle-worker of Padua. St. Lucy's and St. Nicholas's patronage specialities had long been traditional. Undoubtedly theological opinion and popular thought concurred in regarding the intercession of the saints on behalf of individuals, occupations, communities, and their peculiar needs, as an integral part of Christian belief and practice.

To be fair to both continuity and innovation is always difficult, and where religious practice is concerned, the difficulty is compounded by the often deceptive immutability of certain age old forms of behavior. No one would deny that miracles, shrines, relics and so on, were aspects of the cult of saints from the days of St. Augustine, if not before, but hopefully enough has already been said to indicate that even classical manifestations of the cult assumed a characteristic shape and texture in the later medieval period. Most striking of all, however, is the new prominence that the names, images, and dramatized lives of the saints take on

from about the thirteenth century. This new prominence cannot be ignored and should not be underestimated. At least within the urban setting from which the bulk of our evidence derives, the conclusion seems inescapable that the cult of saints then experienced a genuine renewal.

When one speaks of the later medieval saints and their cult, the distinction made earlier between 'old' and 'new' saints remains useful. To be sure, the senior saints of the Christian past shared and in some respects competed for liturgical honors with their junior colleagues on the calendar. Since both 'old' and 'new' saints enjoyed veneration in the later Middle Ages both may therefore lay claim to be designated later medieval saints, and in this chapter the designation will apply equally to 'old' and 'new' saints alike. Nonetheless, the 'new' saints of the period, those who died between 1200 and 1500, have a special right to be considered men of their times, and so these saints and their cult merit particular attention.

The Later Medieval Saints: Hagiography

By the later Middle Ages, the tradition of Christian spiritual biography which in the West dates from the third century Vita et passio Cypriani²³ was securely established. This tradition colored the assumptions and procedures of writers working within it, and classic biographies like the Vita Antonii by Athanasius (written c.357)²⁴ and the Vita Martini by Sulpicius Severus (written c.397)²⁵

naturally had a continuing influence upon hagiographers of subsequent eras. Of course in medieval hagiography 'influence' must be understood in its widest sense to include that most sincere of literary tributes, plagiarism. Sometimes lives were simply re-copied with only a name change to match the name of their new subject. Sometimes only stock incidents or panegyric passages were appropriated. Often there was a pseudo-logic in the manner in which material was selected. A monk asked by his abbot to write the vita of a saint about whom no real information existed might resort to borrowing from the biography of a saintly homonym or a saint from a similar-sounding place or even a saint whose calendar date was the same.²⁶ For the obscure, martyred companion of a famous saint, the passio of the master could be exploited to fill out the life of the disciple. Much depended upon finding a suitable model for the same type of sanctity (monastic, episcopal, etc.) as that in which the subject for the new work had excelled.

But content was not the sole concern of the hagiographer. A pleasing style was also valued. Again and again, previous lives written in a style which had now ceased to please were recast, altered to suit higher standards of literary taste.²⁷ Especially during times of reinvigorated latinity, the Carolingian, twelfth century, and Italian renaissances are good examples, there was an urge to retouch and so bring up to date vitae constructed in epochs of barbarous or imperfect usage, although these revisions were usually "sans profit pour l'histoire."²⁸

Moreover, in contrast to modern scholars who attempt to rescue the real human being from the stifling conventions of his mediæval biographers,²⁹ in the Middle Ages every effort was made to pour the man into the saint's mould. Thus, "l'individualité du héros finissait par disparaître sous le type abstrait."³⁰ Not only biblical and hagiographic models of the vir Dei helped to fix the image of sanctity which the author of a vita was forced to impose upon his subject,³¹ but also each group such as a religious order had its own notions of the kinds of saintly behavior it expected,³² and each saint was, in addition, supposed to conform to the pattern of virtues which his ordo in Christian Society prescribed. Even when the facts of a man's life were not in doubt, even when the author of a vita had known his subject intimately for a number of years, the stereotypes and formulae of hagiography demanded the recitation of a saint's miracles and virtues, most often in an entirely predictable catalogue.³³

Accordingly, in coming to grips with vitae sanctorum, many scholars choose to classify and analyze recurrent hagiographic motifs.³⁴ These themes are essential to the nature of the text, and without an awareness of them, one would run the risk of mistakenly accepting a commonplace as a piece of solid information. For a hagiographer to dwell on the tortures suffered by a martyr or on the mystical favors granted to a contemplative saint would be wholly proper, since the various sorts of sanctity have their corresponding motifs.³⁵ At the same time, many motifs lend themselves to almost universal employment. Just as persecution and suffering were deeply anchored in Christian historical experience

and in ideas of sanctity, so the persecuted saint would always remain a compelling figure. He would not have to be subjected to physical torment in order to show his fortitude in his chosen path, but could encounter, and triumph over, false accusations, mockery, diabolic temptations, or worldly-minded parents.³⁶

Hagiographers were generally quick to ascribe to a saint whatsoever added to his glory. Virginity was esteemed; so the writers of early Christian passions freely bestowed it on several matrons.³⁷ Noble birth was highly admired in medieval society; so hagiographers would parade a saint's aristocratic lineage, or even provide him with noble ancestry, if the opportunity or the need existed.³⁸ More significant still, the appropriate motif could lead to the recognition, validation, or publication of a saint's sanctity. One such saint-making motif, with a long and impressive list of saints to its credit,³⁹ was the so-called odor of sanctity.

From the religion of ancient Egypt to medieval Christianity, a marvelous fragrance could be regarded as a sign of God's presence in the same way that the stench of putrefaction warned that the devil was near.⁴⁰ So the later medieval German mystics sensed the odor of sanctity in their prayerful proximity to God.⁴¹ In the medieval Christian liturgy, incense played an important rôle at processions, consecrations, and solemn services, as a symbol of sacrifice and a means of removing demons.⁴² Censing at funerals and embalming with aromatics⁴³ came to bring Christian piety, fragrance, and death into a strong association which hagiography

helped to define as a token of holiness.

Even in the lifetime of some saints,⁴⁴ and more commonly while they were dying, the odor of sanctity would be detected and later described. Also with newly dead saints, like St. Elizabeth of Hungary two days after her demise,⁴⁵ the emanation of a pleasant scent was prima facie evidence of an incorruptible virtue. Similarly, in posthumous visitations to their devotees, saints would announce themselves by a suavissimus odor, as for example during an incubation cure.⁴⁶ But perhaps the most frequent posthumous occasion for the odor of sanctity was at a relic inventio or translatio. In 1337, when the church of St. John of Pistoia was being rebuilt, a lead coffin was found bearing the inscription: Atto episcopus; the body perfectly preserved within, together with the sweet aroma exuded from it, convinced the Pistoians of their bishop's sanctity.⁴⁷

Contrary to what one might have thought, the odor of sanctity seems to take on greater significance in the later Middle Ages than it formerly possessed. In an age where the personal qualities necessary for sainthood had been dissected by scholastic philosophers and where investigative procedures were stricter than in earlier eras, this appears odd. Yet the fact remains that witnesses at the first canonization inquiry for Thomas Aquinas again and again remarked upon the fragrance of his relics whenever his tomb had been opened. These remarks are also found elsewhere and imply a compelling criterion of holiness. A Dominican witness even argued that the strength at which the fragrance was perceived was a measure

of the devotion of the perceiver.⁴⁸

Ordinary people, moreover, knew what was expected of saints, knew the signs through which their sanctity could be recognized - and were prepared to insist upon them. Thus there was great anxiety amongst the Dominicans at Bologna on the night of the 23rd-24th of May, 1233, when the relics of St. Dominic were being translated in preparation for an attempt to obtain his canonization. Vicaire insists that if a foul odor had issued from Dominic's tomb, popular sentiment would have turned against the friars and their saint. Instead, out poured the odor of sanctity. He concludes: "we have to admit that the miracle of the fragrance was the crucial event which made necessary the move from the translation... to the canonization."⁴⁹

Whether or not a physical basis to such experiences lay in the embalmer's art, as has been argued,⁵⁰ the dictations of a cultural tradition, popularized in vernacular literature and broadcast in sermons, must have made a great impact. Thus the diffusion of hagiographic lore could fix the saint and sanctity within conventions as formal as those of a legal code. What had once been a surety threatened to become a near prerequisite.

In addition to declaring and illustrating a saint's sanctity, a passio or vita was an essential element in his cult. As the source of the saint's liturgical office,⁵¹ iconographic attributes, and popular fama, a hagiographic text was indispensable. Although the presence of a given vita in a specified locality cannot by itself

be taken as a proof of that saint's cult there (it may indicate well-stocked book cupboards and nothing else),⁵² its possession would have to be taken into consideration when the saint's general popularity in the vicinity was being assessed. A charmingly written legend could in fact initiate a cult where none had previously existed.⁵³ On the other hand, the vita might appear a good deal after the cult had commenced; its job would be to lend 'historical' weight to pious beliefs.⁵⁴

So the Carmelites like other religious families in the second half of the fifteenth century, realizing the need for biographies of their saints and facing the poverty of their archives, resorted to the time honored device of commissioning fabrications. Typically, the author would try to palm himself off as a contemporary of his long dead confrère. One such fraud is the life of the Carmelite martyr St. Angelo of Sicily (d. 1225?) written by a pseudo-Enoch, a self-proclaimed patriarch of Jerusalem.⁵⁵

That interested groups would employ hagiography as instrument to further their own ends was hardly unprecedented. In the past, vitae had been written to promote a financially rewarding pilgrimage, to advance a theological school or an ecclesiastical faction, and to safeguard the privileges and possessions of a monastic house;⁵⁶ these needs hagiographers would continue to meet. But from about the twelfth century onwards some vitae sanctorum had a new task to perform: to secure the papal endorsement of their heroes' sanctity.

The first of a long line of papal canonizations takes place in 993, when Pope John XV canonizes St. Ulric (Uldaricus).⁵⁷ By the twelfth century, a class of saints' lives had emerged whose characteristic purpose was to excite papal approval.⁵⁸ The features of these lives gradually become more definite in the thirteenth and later centuries. For one thing, there was a new caution, a new reserve about making claims on behalf of the saint which might seem to anticipate the judgement of the Church. Titles such as sanctus and beatus are consciously shunned, replaced by more prudent expressions like vir sanctus, vir Dei, servus Dei, venerabilis ac pius, etc.⁵⁹ Secondly, there was a greater effort to present material in a clear and orderly manner and to provide more ample documentation of the heroic virtues and miracles of the saint.⁶⁰ Yet it would be wrong to suppose that all this changed the nature of hagiography. The vita which was intended to catch the eye of Rome and initiate a process had to portray a saint who conformed in every way to official, curial stereotypes of sanctity.⁶¹ Even vitae which postdate rather than precede canonization processes are heavily influenced by official notions, since the process itself, together with the papal bull of canonization, constitute major sources of biographical and anecdotal material.⁶²

Biographies of venerated members of religious orders imposed their own restraints. Here the saint was necessarily a representative figure, typifying everything that was best in his religious family and its approach to sanctity. For the founders of religious orders this was doubly true. Thus Jordan of Saxony's account of St. Dominic served the needs of the Dominicans both by fostering the

cult of their founder and by depicting the early days of the order.⁶³ Naturally the founder's life and his order's history were bound to overlap,⁶⁴ which was a potent reason for authorized biography. Moreover, the changing internal politics of the order could very well necessitate a re-interpretation of the life of the founder, and nowhere can this need be better illustrated than with the successive biographies of St. Francis.⁶⁵ Happily the learned controversies about the filiation of Franciscan sources do not concern us.⁶⁶ As for the writings of Thomas of Celano, however, there is general agreement that between his Vita prima and his Vita secunda s. Francisci several changes occur which mirror dissensions within the Order of Friars Minor. In Celano's first biography (1229), Brother Elias, who was then a highly esteemed, influential member of the Order, occupies a prominent position among the companions of Francis. When (c.1246) Celano wrote his Vita secunda, Elias had been disgraced and excommunicated; accordingly, very few references are made to him, and he is never mentioned by name.⁶⁷

Celano's Vita prima had been commissioned by the pope; its purpose was to proclaim the sanctity of Francis, not to air the troubles of the Franciscans during their founder's last years. So Celano was very discrete^{et} about these troubles, alluding to them without undue emphasis.⁶⁸ But the Vita secunda, although commissioned by the minister-general and still official biography, was the product of a time of intense soul-searching and factionalism within the Franciscan Order. Celano now had St. Francis declare himself quite explicitly on the crucial questions of Celano's own day; and what is more, declare himself wholeheartedly on the side of the rigorist

faction whose ideals his biographer espoused.⁶⁹ Plainly, a new official life of the saint was needed, one which would avoid controversy, return to discretion, and portray a saint who would not embarrass the non-rigorist majority of the brethren. Bonaventura's Legenda maior s. Francisci (composed after 1260) was the result. Its main feature is its omissions. Bonaventura, a moderate who had become Minister-general, creates an anodyne St. Francis by leaving out any action or teaching of the saint which might offend the dominant party. His St. Francis is not only politically non-controversial but also hagiographically less individual. Troublesome eccentricities or possible improprieties of the saint have been eliminated.⁷⁰ In the Franciscan chapter-general of 1266, the Legenda by Bonaventura was made canonical. Previous lives were ordered to be destroyed, and they survived only in a precarious and clandestine state.⁷¹

Later medieval hagiography, in common with other genres of post-twelfth century Latin literature, has yet to find its historian. There is certainly no dearth of material. Probably the best roster of published lives of later medieval saints is that given by Vernet in the Dictionnaire de Spiritualité,⁷² and his list is meant to be selective, not comprehensive. Nevertheless, from Vernet's list one can see at a glance that the older religious orders like the Benedictines continued to produce saints and to write about them in the later Middle Ages, although the number of such lives appear to diminish from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. What is plain is the overwhelming impact of the friars, their saints and vitae. Many of the vitae classified by Vernet under the heading 'hiérarchie ecclésiastique' (which ranges from priests to popes)

have friars as their subjects. Finally, one should note the respectable body of lives devoted to laymen from the twelfth century to the fifteenth.

Perhaps too much emphasis has been placed on the "*triomphe de la biographie mystique*" in the thirteenth century.⁷³ It is true that hagiographers like Thomas of Cantimpré develop a new sensitivity to mystical experience and spiritual graces in the lives of their subjects; mystical states are fondly analyzed with an almost scholastic thoroughness. A high percentage of these lives have females as their subjects. Undeniably, one may speak of a new inwardness and a new depth of treatment. But at the same time it is equally undeniable that the absence of events of biographical interest in the lives of contemplatives had forced these writers to look deeper in order to find enough material to fill out their narratives. What would be interesting to trace is the gradual infusion of mystical themes into the hagiography of saints who were not primarily contemplatives and who led lives that offered other narrative strategies.

Although in the tenth century spiritual advisors were mostly confined to monks and princes, from the thirteenth century, and particularly by the fifteenth, it was increasingly common for pious Christian laymen to seek spiritual guidance from their own counselors. These counselors were usually confessors. A hagiographic consequence of this development is the rise of biographies written by confessors who were responsible for the spiritual direction of a saint.⁷⁴ Better than anyone, the confessor was in a position to extol the virtues of his former charge. If, thanks to the confessional, lay

sanctity was now open to clerical inspection, and its discovery and nurture quickened clerical pride, clerics, perhaps for these reasons, were prepared to recognize lay sanctity more readily in the later Middle Ages.

But the new intimacy between some biographers and their subjects did not automatically result in a liberation from hagiographic convention or even in a greater historical reliability for their work. When Robert Fawtier assesses the limitations of the vita by St. Catherine of Siena's confessor Raymond of Capua,⁷⁵ his criticisms could very well be generalized into a warning against false hopes. Raymond had been Catherine's confessor for only four years during which time he frequently had been absent from her. In his legenda he understandably stresses the part he played in her life, while tending to minimize what the saint had done before he met her. Fawtier sums up his criticisms:

On voit donc que si l'on peut utiliser la Légende Majeure, il convient de le faire avec précaution. Son information presque tout entière de seconde main, mise en oeuvre après des années, par un homme dont la mémoire baissait et qu'absorbaient de nombreuses préoccupations, ne peut être acceptée sans examen. Raymond de Capoue n'est pas un historien, c'est un hagiographe.⁷⁶

This is a salutary reminder indeed.

To speak of a saint's life as his legenda of course implies no judgement on the historical value of its contents. Legenda becomes virtually synonymous with vita. The former term, however, retains a suggestion of its original sense of reading or lesson, since liturgical celebration of a saint usually included the recital of a summary of his life.⁷⁷ Collections of passions and lives

of the saints intended for the liturgical commemoration of their anniversaries are in existence from the mid-sixth century.⁷⁸ Sometimes these hagiographic collections are called lectionaries, passionaries (for martyrs) or legendaries (for confessors),⁷⁹ but as the collections came to include the legends of martyrs and confessors alike, it is simplest to use the term legendary for all these hagiographical anthologies.

Like other anthologies, legendaries exhibit considerable diversity. A legendary that aimed at encompassing the lives of as many saints as possible, its comprehensiveness limited only by the availability of texts, would present a far more miscellaneous appearance than, for example, a legendary composed as a hagiographic reference work to a particular relic collection, its lives chosen to coincide with the saints whose relics were claimed.⁸⁰ Liturgical usage naturally helped to govern the selection of texts. Specifically local legendaries would include only the saints peculiar to a given church or region, while universal legendaries might try to assemble the lives of the saints most generally venerated throughout Christendom.⁸¹ But it is wise not to make these divisions too absolute, for universal saints could very well appear in a legendary designed for local use. Moreover, local or national saints' lives could easily be added to manuscripts of universal legendaries as, in the fourteenth century, the vitae of Saints Adalbert, Florian, Stanislas, and Hedwig were attached to manuscripts of the Legenda aurea copied in Poland.⁸²

Before the middle of the thirteenth century a new sort of legendary, intended to meet new needs, was developed, and the Dominicans were in the forefront of its composition. These legends were no longer designed to supply liturgical texts or vitae for public reading, say, in a monastic refectory, but rather to satisfy the devotional tastes of private readers and also to provide handy illustrations for busy preachers.⁸³ Variety and brevity were essential. These new legends, consequently, did not contain the full-scale biographies which often but not always were the mark of previous collections. Instead, they presented abridgements, condensed versions which nonetheless permitted the editor to insert an occasional detail of his own about a new miracle or a recent relic translation.⁸⁴

Their utility guaranteed their success. Abridged legends became immensely popular, both in Latin and in vernacular editions. While it would be mistaken to regard the enormous popularity of the Legenda aurea as typical of the entire literary species, this work did not stand alone. The species as a whole contributed to the diffusion of hagiographic knowledge and iconographic attributes. The saints whose condensed vitae were included in these legends might be expected to enjoy a wide veneration. On the other hand, it may safely be presumed that the legenda of a later medieval saint would usually not circulate beyond a limited, local readership if it found no place in such collections.⁸⁵ To survey the hagiographic contents of all later medieval abridged legends is plainly out of the question,⁸⁶ but to examine a few outstanding examples of the genre for their choice of saints may be a valuable exercise.

The Abbreviatio in gestis et miraculis sanctorum by John of Mailly, O.P., is now acknowledged to be the first of its kind. Written (c.1225-30) before its author had joined the Dominican Order and revised thereafter (c.1243), the Abbreviatio follows the sequence of feasts in the diocesan calendar of Auxerre, John's residence at the time. In its second edition, the Abbreviatio contains several additional lives, including that of the founder of John's order, St.Dominic. The author declares that he wrote the work to assist preachers who complained that the lives of the saints were scattered in a great many inaccessible books.⁸⁷

Overshadowing the success of the Abbreviatio was the fame of its descendant, the Legenda aurea of Bl.James of Voragine (d.1298), the Dominican archbishop of Genoa. The Legenda aurea, composed c.1260-73, if the most recent estimates are correct,⁸⁸ has 182 chapters in its first edition, with 159 of them pertaining to named saints or saint groups (discounting feasts of Mary and Christ, All Souls, etc.). Included are apostles, martyrs, virgins, ascetics, early bishops and popes — the most famous, most widely venerated saints of the universal Church.⁸⁹ These saints nearly all came from the remote past. St.Boniface (martyred 754) figures as a relative newcomer, while he is followed chronologically by St. Bernard (d.1153) and St.Thomas Becket (martyred 1170). Voragine selects only four saints out of his own century — Francis, Elizabeth of Hungary, Dominic and Peter Martyr. This selection has been carefully made, since each of the four modern saints chosen had been papally canonized, Peter Martyr most recently in 1253; and two Franciscans balance two Dominicans. Perhaps St.Clare of Assisi

(canonized 1255) was deliberately excluded for want of an equivalent Dominican. In any case, the compiler of the Legenda aurea evidently felt that these four moderns had already achieved or stood the best chance of achieving a new universal status commensurate with that attained by their illustrious predecessors.⁹⁰ Certainly these four saints could depend upon the active backing of their respective international religious orders.

The relative brevity of the Legenda aurea helped to ensure its circulation. As for subsequent abridged legendaries, those which are today regarded as works of major importance develop into true hagiographic encyclopedias, embracing a vast host of saints although usually treating each individual life quite summarily. A good example is the Legendae de sanctis of Peter Calo of Chioggia. This Dominican hagiographer who died in Cividale c.1348, compiled an anthology of 853 saints' legends. Since he spent much time in his order's convent in Venice, Venetian cults and titularies are well represented in his collection.⁹¹ Despite the amplitude of Calo's work, a mere eleven modern saints appear in it, the four mentioned by Voragine plus the Franciscans Anthony of Padua, Clare, Louis of Toulouse, the Dominican Thomas Aquinas, King Louis of France, Archbishop Edmund Rich, and the recluse and mystic Mary of Oignies (d.1213).⁹² Only the last of these saints was never canonized, but her vita was written by Cardinal James de Vitry, whose biography served as the source of Calo's redaction.⁹³

The Catalogus sanctorum of Peter Natali (Petrus de Natalibus) was begun in 1369 and completed in 1372. Its compiler became

Bishop of Jesolo in the Venetia in 1370. Natali's Catalogus contains 1500 brief notices on saints, which are distributed among ten books, with an eleventh book for saints for whom no fixed date of commemoration could be found. A twelfth book, the index to the work, is supplemented by an appendix listing further saints; the appendix was obviously drawn up after the time of Natali, and perhaps stems from the publisher's desire to keep a hagiographic reference work up-to-date. The editio princeps was issued in 1493.⁹⁴ Of the saints catalogued by Natali himself, only seven derive from the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. The one saint of these seven not previously encountered in either Calo or Voragine is Pope Celestine V (Peter Morone, d.1296, can.1313). The appendix not only mentions old saints who received a new cult in the later medieval period (like St.Monica), but also provides twelve entries on new saints of the later Middle Ages.⁹⁵ Although not every new saint listed in the appendix had been formally canonized (St.Roch, for example, had probably not been), the majority of them had, and whoever compiled this supplement to Natali was clearly interested in the question of authorized cult. Thus St. Osmund (d.1099) has been entered specifically because of his canonization in 1457.

There can be no doubt that some hagiographers, like Natali, tended to be antiquarian in their sympathies. Perhaps because their works inclined more to encyclopedic erudition and less to direct practical utility, they delighted in finding obscure heroes of the faith to exhibit. Neither Voragine nor any other writer hoping to attract either preachers or devout readers would have

dreamed of incorporating saints with unknown feast days. Yet a preference for the Christian past does not entirely explain why so few out of the host of popularly venerated contemporary saints were admitted. One could argue, of course, that even the most encyclopaedic of abridged legendaries was oriented towards universal Christendom, and thus would tend to exclude new saints of purely local reputation. Again, one could argue that the editors were cautious men: in regard to the newer saints, papal canonization was normally a prerequisite for admission. This being said, however, it remains true that none of even the most expansive of hagiographic reference books kept pace with papal canonizations. Only a select number of approved new saints took their place in the long inventory of sanctity. These saints, on the whole, came from the ranks of the friars.

Indeed, the slight impression made by the new later medieval saints upon the abridged legendaries of the closing fifteenth century is precisely analogous to their weak impact upon contemporary ecclesiastical calendars which was noted earlier. In the Vitae sanctorum of the Milanese humanist Bonino Mombrizio (Mombricitus; d.1482), which was published c.1479 in two folio volumes, out of a total of around 543 separate entries, a mere ten notices are devoted to saints who died after 1200. All ten of these modern saints had of course been canonized; St.Catherine of Siena most recently in 1461.⁹⁶

The collection published by Johannes Prüss in 1487 under the title Viola sanctorum could boast 675 notices of saints, but of

these only eleven pertain to saints of the later medieval period, and none postdate the canonization of St. Thomas Aquinas in 1323.⁹⁷ Finally, in an edition of Voragine published at Venice in 1493, to supplement the four biographies of new saints which were original to the first edition, the lives of three more later medieval saints have been added: Thomas Aquinas, Bernardino of Siena, and Vincent Ferrer (d. 1419, yet canonized last of these three saints in 1455).⁹⁸

Nevertheless, the new saints of the later Middle Ages found at least one hagiographer determined to celebrate them, and what is more to recognize their status as a distinct class. This exceptional compiler of legendaries was John Gielemans (d. 1487), a canon regular of Rouge-Cloître near Brussels and author of the Novale sanctorum.⁹⁹ The work must have been completed within two years of Gielemans' death.¹⁰⁰ The author's intention is to collect the lives of saints "qui citra tempora beatissimi Celestini papae... videlicet ab anno Domini M.CCC. ac deinceps floruerunt" — at least those saints known to him.¹⁰¹ But the Novale sanctorum is not only concerned with saints. Towards the end of the first volume there are many accounts of visions, images and miracles, and especially of the foundations of religious houses in the Low Countries. The second volume is crowded with papal bulls on new feasts, with declarations of indulgences, and with the orations of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini. Yet the new saints still find a place. Gielemans' modern saints are a mixed lot, comprising the papally canonized, the locally venerated, and the illustrious dead of some religious orders (the Carmelites and Cistercians) who may not have enjoyed any formal cult.

In this procession of lives where papally recognized sanctity marches cheek by jowl with sanctity recognized by popular opinion or by religious orders alone, we can sense the actual, rather confusing later medieval situation. Gielemans, however, remains unperplexed. Usually he reserves the titles of sanctus and beatus for saints enjoying a real cult and assigns venerabilis or neutral terms like magister, frater, etc. to the others. Of course the Novale sanctorum does contain a few surprises. St.Sigismund (d.523) and the ninth century saint Gerard of Rosselon are oddly present.¹⁰² Then, between the "Vita mirabilis Christianae virginis" (Bl.Christina of Stommeln, d.1312) and "Vita S.Thomae Herfordiensis episcopi" (St.Thomas Cantelupe, d.1282 can.1320), one is surprised to discover the "Vita B.Thomae comitis Lancastriae et martyris" (Thomas Earl of Lancaster, beheaded 1322).¹⁰³ Thomas of Lancaster attracted popular veneration along with those who, like Simon de Montfort, had resisted royal authority. Although he died excommunicate and the king endeavored to halt his cult, miracles occurred at his tomb and in 1327 Parliament was petitioned to seek his canonization together with that of Archbishop Winchelsey, who was also popularly venerated as an opponent of royal power.¹⁰⁴ It is interesting that Gielemans should have included the executed Earl. The third English saint listed is a regular canon called Thomas, prior of Bridlington (fl.1370).¹⁰⁵ Could this be a mistake for the little known John Thwing or St.John of Bridlington (d.1379 can.? 1403)?¹⁰⁶

Summarizing the lives of about forty individual men and women with reputations for holiness attested by papal canonization, local fama, or order biography, Gielemans was fully aware that the

credentials of his subjects were not of equal weight, nor were their cults, if indeed all possessed them, of equal authority. Approximately half of the subjects of the Novale sanctorum would today be found in a hagiographic dictionary of modest dimensions, like Attwater's. Furthermore, both Gielemans' order saints and his local saints come mostly from northern Europe, predominantly from his own Low Countries. One can see immediately why he was also the compiler of a Hagiologium Brabantinorum.¹⁰⁷

Such compilations, bringing together in one legendary the abridged lives of national saints, may be seen in England from the fourteenth century. Apparently written for Romsey Abbey during the first half of that century, B.M. Lansdowne MS. 436 contains condensed biographies of forty-three English saints. From its "elegant charter hand" Wormald can say that the MS. was not intended for liturgical use but for private reading.¹⁰⁸ Of course the most famous collection of English national vitae sanctorum was that first published in 1516 by Wynkyn de Worde: the Nova legenda Anglie. Undoubtedly it derives from the Sanctilogium of John of Tynemouth (d. c.1349), a monk of St. Albans. The name most commonly associated with the Nova legenda, however, is John Capgrave (d.1464), an Augustinian friar at Lynn and an accomplished writer of Latin as well as English prose, who is believed to have reworked Tynemouth's material.¹⁰⁹ As published by de Worde, the Nova legenda Anglie includes a great many Irish, Scottish, and Welsh saints whose presence in a collection so titled its medieval editor justifies "quia... terre Hibernie, Scotie, et Wallie de iure subici debent et obediens esse tenentur huic regno Anglie."¹¹⁰

Every chronological period is represented from the days of St. Alban to the days of St. Thomas Becket and beyond, into the thirteenth century.¹¹¹ A total of 168 lives are listed in the 'tabula' of de Worde's edition, with six of them being biographies of post-1200 saints (Hugh of Lincoln, Edmund Rich, Richard of Chichester, Thomas of Hereford, "Little St. Hugh" - d. 1255, for whose death the Jews were blamed, and Thomas Hales - d. 1295, a monk of Dover murdered by French raiders).¹¹² Whereas the cults of the first four of these modern saints were official in character, those of the last two were of a more popular nature, unsupported by papal canonization, although receiving clerical backing.¹¹³ For a fourteenth century collection revised in the fifteenth and again possibly in the early sixteenth century, the termination of English sanctity at 1295 might seem premature. Neglected, for example, was an extant biography of the fourteenth century spiritual writer Richard Rolle of Hampole, who seems to have been the object of a cult.¹¹⁴ Yet it is clear that what interested the compilers of the Nova legenda Anglie was sanctity in the past, hallowed and ^uauthenticated by an unbroken tradition of veneration, a historical piety with a strong admixture of patriotic feeling.

For in the Nova legenda there exists no trace of Lanfranc's disdainful attitude towards the bulk of Saxon saints;¹¹⁵ no hint of Norman contempt for native English or Welsh cults.¹¹⁶ Hagiographically speaking, the English past is continuous. The succession of saints, as seen in this legendary, proceeds without interruption or hiatus. Almost the same might be said about the place of the Celtic saints in later medieval Scottish hagiography

and national sentiment. They too had suffered an eclipse, dating from around the time of St. Margaret of Scotland (d. 1093), and likewise were gradually restored to full favor.¹¹⁷ If space permitted an examination of Celtic saints in that unique summa of Scottish hagiography, the Aberdeen Breviary, one would most likely arrive at the same impression of a national past integrated and symbolized by its heroes of sanctity as one obtains from the Nova legenda Anglie.

The great popularity of saints' legends in the later Middle Ages is indisputable. Indeed, medieval reformers like Clémanges, while granting that hagiographic literature produced beneficial effects, complained that its undue emphasis led to the neglect of Scripture, which, he said, should be the chief spiritual fare of Christians.¹¹⁸ Evidence of a broad acquaintance with hagiography and its conventions amongst literary men comes from humorous imitations of the genre. Parodies arise naturally out of affection and familiarity; it is obvious that without a fair knowledge of what is being burlesqued, the joke is lost. So the career of St. No-one is instructive.

Around 1290, a certain Radulfus, who seems to have been a Frenchman, wrote a Sermo or Historia de Nemine, dedicated to Cardinal Benedict Gaetani. The author combed all the classical or biblical writers he could find who had used the word nemo. He then applied these references to a personified Nemo of great power. Although clerical opponents denounced the secta Neminiana, and scholars once saw in the fourteenth to sixteenth century MSS.

of the Historia de Nemine indications of a virulent anti-hagiography campaign, Lehmann's judgement that this was simply lighthearted fun seems eminently reasonable.¹¹⁹ Vernacular legends also gave rise to vernacular parodies. To the later fifteenth century belong MSS. of French "sermons joyeux de saint Raisin... de saint Haren, de saint Ognon" and so on.¹²⁰

Catalogues of medieval libraries invariably demonstrate the popularity of lives of the saints. It goes without saying, that in a period when books were comparatively rare and literacy limited, popularity must be measured in relative terms. Nevertheless, the library of Francesco Datini included '1 big book of the Life of the Saints, bound in red leather' (in Latin? in the vernacular?), which Lapo Mazzei persuaded Francesco to loan to him, and which he also seems to have loaned to Frate Piero de' Frati degli Agnoli and to the more famous Matteo Villani.¹²¹ To assess the extent that such books circulated or to calculate their readership with any accuracy is very difficult. Yet we can learn from the lives of later medieval saints how significant the reading of legends became in shaping their piety, and although saints are never wholly typical, it is still possible to discern from their example, a class of pious lay readers of hagiography, for whom literacy meant the vernacular.

Giovanni Colombini was a leading Sienese merchant of noble descent who had taken an active part in the government of his city. He was approaching his fiftieth year, was married, with a son and a daughter, when in 1353, his wife's delay in preparing the midday

meal forced him to glance at a volume of saints' lives which his wife had laid out for him. Against his will, he became so immersed in the story of St. Mary the Egyptian that he insisted upon finishing it before sitting down to eat. From this event, his own hagiographer dates his conversion, for Colombini went on to found the Jesuates.¹²² We can admit that as an account of his conversion, this anecdote rather over-simplifies the circumstances of Colombini's life and times.¹²³ Yet, the narrative of Mary's conversion from prostitution to the severe asceticism of the desert, and the call to repentance with which the legenda concludes must have troubled the guilt-ridden fourteenth century businessman who later advocated absolute renunciation. Almost certainly, Colombini read the legend of St. Mary the Egyptian in Domenico Cavalca's vernacular translation of the Vitae Patrum.¹²⁴ Cavalca (c.1270-1342), a Dominican friar who also translated the Dialogues of Gregory the Great,¹²⁵ found as did many of his later medieval counterparts, that the laity craved religious reading matter in the language which they spoke and that the Latin-educated clergy could usefully instruct (and amuse) this lay reading public by bringing heretofore inaccessible works to its notice.

Once such works were available the pious might desire literacy to benefit from them. St. Catherine of Siena probably discovered the saints first through hearing their stories read aloud or attending sermons or studying narrative images. She appears to have learned to read somewhat late in her life. When she did learn, however, she seems to have read the lives of saints Euphrosyne,

Anthony Abbot, Catherine of Alexandria, and Bl. Giovanni Colombini. Moreover, she knew the legends of saints Lucy, Mary Magdalene, and Agnes, perhaps through the medium of a vernacular legendary.¹²⁶

Now the development of vernacular hagiography is a very large subject that can only be inadequately touched upon here. A few points which might clarify the position of vernacular saints' lives in the later Middle Ages may, nevertheless, be worth making. In the wake of the eleventh century Gregorian Reform certain sectors of the laity managed to obtain translated passages from the Gospels and the Fathers.¹²⁷ If not indifferent to these efforts to secure scriptural texts in the vernacular the Church actively opposed them, believing that the sacra pagina should be the monopoly of the doctrinally instructed, the clergy, who would correctly understand it. Adaptations and paraphrases were one thing; translation was another.¹²⁸ Devotional literature had none of the pitfalls that Scripture possessed. Hagiography, so the Church felt, would inspire devotion and not give birth to heretics.

Perhaps this view was too sanguine. At any rate, it was the chanson de saint Alexis movingly sung by a jongleur which profoundly disturbed the spiritual peace of the wealthy merchant of Lyons Peter Waldo (d.1217) and led to his religious quest.¹²⁹ Evidently saints' lives could produce heretics as well as saints. The jongleurs who by turns recited gesta principum et vitas sanctorum earned no ecclesiastical reproaches, however; their craft was already well established in the eleventh century, when Taillefer sang of Roland at Hastings. Jongleurs often recited the vita of a saint

at his pilgrimage shrine.¹³⁰ Vernacular hagiography, therefore, was of significance orally before it ever found a sizeable reading public.

It may be that a considerable number of Romance translations existed before the eleventh century. If so, their manuscripts have not survived.¹³¹ But certainly the twelfth century witnesses the initial boom period of vernacular saints' lives in verse.¹³² French saints' legends were mostly translated and versified from Latin originals; the poet-translators are for the most part anonymous, but the ones who are known were clerics. The court and the nobility were the earliest patrons of Anglo-Norman hagiography in verse. Then, in the course of the thirteenth century, "the extension of literacy and the rise of a middle class" created a new market for clerical translators.¹³³ A representative figure is the English Franciscan Nicole Bozon who during the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century wrote a series of eleven saints' lives in Anglo-Norman. As a confessor, Bozon might have written these lives, which are, on the whole, derived from the Legenda aurea, to encourage some laywomen among his parishioners to do penance. The only modern saint of his eleven is the Franciscan tertiary Elizabeth of Hungary.¹³⁴

In general, these vernacular saints' lives written in Anglo-Norman and northern French verse date from the eleventh to the close of the fifteenth century. Tabulating the vitae inventoried by Meyer presents a number of problems, since several lives have been recast at later periods¹³⁵ and there are some errors and more

than a few omissions in his catalogue.¹³⁶ Still, his list is the most complete index of French vernacular verse lives available. Not all his approximately 185 lives are dated, but of those which can be assigned to a century with reasonable accuracy about twenty-two antedate the thirteenth century while about fifty-nine follow it. The thirteenth century, from which we already have so many scattered pieces of evidence indicating a new popularity for the cult of saints, can claim roughly ninety-seven lives. The most popular type of saint whose lives were translated and versified, according to Meyer's own reckoning, was the early Christian universal saint; next come local saints, mostly from the days of the apostolic bishops; and last of all, thirteen lives of seven contemporary saints (Dominic, Edmund Rich, Elizabeth of Hungary, Francis, Richard of Chichester, Bl. Thomas Hélye of Bilville (d.1257), Yves (?)(d.1303)).¹³⁷

Saints' legends in French prose only appear in the thirteenth century. This is significantly later than the appearance of vernacular verse lives, and perhaps does suggest what Meyer believes: a more cultivated, more literate lay public has emerged, for whom verse recitations were no longer required.¹³⁸ Fairly quickly, these prose vitae were gathered together in vernacular legendaries, which, predictably, are overwhelmingly traditional in their choice of saints. St. Thomas Becket seems to be the most modern saint represented.¹³⁹ This same hagiographic conservatism holds true for a random sample of Scottish and English vernacular legendaries of the later Middle Ages.¹⁴⁰

Even if they did lack modern saints, these vernacular legends may have exerted an important modernizing influence in another direction. Perhaps it would not be far-fetched to consider that in substituting homely vernacular speech for Church Latin, the clerical translators of the legends helped to make the saints more familiar, less hieratic personages. The translators would thus have performed a function analogous to that of the later medieval artists who were then clothing the saints in the costumes of daily life. Everyday idiom was what a translator could use. It was Dante, after all, who perceived that the vernacular was the great ally of naturalism.¹⁴¹ Hence, in more ways than one, "the fourteenth century saint was, so to speak, a vernacular creation."¹⁴²

Undoubtedly, the Legenda aurea was a ready source for the prose and verse translators of vernacular saints' lives. Voragine's anthology, its manuscripts widely diffused, was one of the best-sellers of the Middle Ages. From script to print — and printing like vernacular translation further broadened the circulation of lives of the saints — the record of unquenchable demand continued. The publishing career of the Legenda aurea is impressive. Before 1500, at least eighty-seven Latin editions of it and about forty-five editions in the various European vernaculars had appeared.¹⁴³

Caxton used the French translation of Jean de Vigny, which had been made before 1340, as the basis for his English edition of 1483. In common with other early printers, Caxton treated the Legenda aurea as a work that could be modified or augmented to please

the audience of his times. Caxton's additions are therefore an interesting comment on the tastes of his age. First of all, Caxton inserted a series of fourteen accounts of Old Testament patriarchs, eloquent testimony to the growing attractions of the Bible and its notions of sanctity. Voragine had looked back no farther than the Maccabees. Secondly, and this supports the previous discussion of hagiographic patriotism in the Nova legenda Anglie, Caxton included the lives of eighteen English saints like Alban, Cuthbert, and King Edward the Confessor. Aside from St. Thomas Becket, Voragine had ignored England. Caxton even welcomed St. Catherine of Alexandria "of the nacions of Britons". Thirdly, Caxton added biographies of seven modern saints, the most recent of them being St. Roch, whose life he claims to have translated himself. Saints Hugh of Lincoln and Edmund Rich would be appreciated by English readers, while the four others (Saints Thomas Aquinas, Yves, Louis of France, and Louis of Toulouse) reflect both cults sponsored by religious orders, and Caxton's French translator of Voragine.¹⁴⁴ Caxton and his successors not only published expensive folio editions of Voragine, but also offered individual legends in cheap, thin quarto to a less affluent clientele.¹⁴⁵

The Legenda aurea had been translated into Tuscan by the fourteenth century,¹⁴⁶ if not before. But the first published edition of Voragine's classic in an Italian vernacular occurred around 1475.. This was the translation done by the Venetian Camaldolese monk, Nicolo Malèrmi.¹⁴⁷ He, too, adapted Voragine to suit his time and milieu, inserting an abridged life of St. Joseph,

who was enjoying a new cult in the later fifteenth century. Again, Malèrmi, like other translators, found room for the lives of additional modern saints. Six of his selections were straightforward (Bernardino, Catherine of Siena, Clare, Louis of Toulouse, King Louis of France, and Nicholas of Tolentino) but the remaining two were calculated to gratify his Venetian pride and his Camaldolese loyalties. For both of these new saints he carefully employs the term beato, which in the context of his collection can be taken to mean a present day uncanonized saint who is receiving some degree of veneration. Thus he cites "Beato Laurentio Iustiniano" (patriarch of Venice, d.1455, can.1690) and "Beato Parisi confessori del ordine de Camaldoli" (d.1267).¹⁴⁸

Hagiographic literature was not confined to a popular readership in search of uplifting stories and pious nourishment. Scholars were not ashamed to place vitae sanctorum on their shelves. To judge from the library of the great Renaissance scholar Pico della Mirandola (d.1494), the cult of the saints embraced the whole sweep of Church history from the Passio quatuor sanctorum coronatorum to the De miraculis b. Francisci, encompassing the inevitable Legenda aurea as well as some unspecified collections and a Legenda sanctorum regni Ungaria that sounds worth investigating. Altogether one can point to some thirteen works of hagiography in Pico's library.¹⁴⁹ Naturally, the humanists knew about hagiographic works, whatever they thought about them. Petrarch and Salutati both allude to the Vitae Patrum.¹⁵⁰

Regarding saints' lives, the Renaissance humanists adopt two characteristic attitudes that might well repay further study. As critics, they scorn the barbarous Latin, the worthless pseudo-historical detail, and the spurious miracles which have caused even Bollandists to lose their patience. As hagiographers, they re-write old lives in the best Latin at their disposal, which, we have seen, has been a standard occupation for humanists from the days of the Carolingian Renaissance. Furthermore, they make original contributions to the genre. Petrarch, when he read a poorly written life of St. Simplicianus, said without hesitation that he did not believe any of it.¹⁵¹ Again, it was probably Thomas More who wrote: 'ruder minds were affected by the fictions of those who thought that they had done a lasting service to Christ when they had invented a fable about some saint.'¹⁵²

Vespasiano da Bisticci includes the learned Antonio degli Agli, Bishop of Volterra, among his illustrious men and calls him "a man of saintly life". "I have seen [he says] a Life of the Saints by him in which each saint is placed in order for the whole year. This book he dedicated and presented to Pope Nicholas [V. (d. 1455)]".¹⁵³ Pastor describes the preface to what seems like the same work (Cod. Vatic. 3942). According to Pastor, degli Agli says that he has resumed writing his book at the Pope's express wish. "Unfortunately, he says, most of the legends of the saints were full of fables, and written in an uncouth or affected style, which disgusted the humanists and made them despise Christianity."¹⁵⁴ His remedy is to go back to the best Latin MSS. The learned Ambrogio Traversari had already embarked upon such a task. "To others he leaves the

task of praising Rome's worldly heroes; his only ambition is to celebrate the heroes of the Church."¹⁵⁵

In 1433 Leon Battista Alberti finished his life of St. Potitus (whom Attwater refers to as "a martyr of unknown history who is honored in the diocese of Naples")¹⁵⁶ which had been commissioned by Bishop Biagio Molin, head of the papal chancery. Expected to be the first of a series of vitae which Molin wanted Alberti to compose, Alberti's Vita s. Potiti was in fact both first and last. Partially at least, the failure of this scheme is thought to be due to Alberti's historical reservations about the patently legendary material.¹⁵⁷

Other humanists were either less scrupulous or chose to write about saints for whom better evidence existed. Giovanni Garzoni composed no fewer than fifteen lives of saints and martyrs.¹⁵⁸ Sico Polenton, humanist chancellor of Padua, wrote the lives of three modern saints all venerated in his city: St. Anthony of Padua; Bl. Anthony Manzi called "the Pilgrim" who came from a Paduan family (d. 1267); and Bl. Helen the Nun (Helen Enselmini who was received into the Poor Clares at Arcella near Padua? d. 1242).¹⁵⁹ Mafeo Vegio, a friend of Lorenzo Valla and an Augustinian canon-regular, employed hagiography in the liturgical cult of saints venerated by the canons-regular (Augustine, Monica, Nicholas of Tolentino, Celestine V, Bernardino).¹⁶⁰

The Milanese humanist Bonino Mombrizio, author of a well-known legendary previously mentioned, is also responsible for a vernacular

poem in honor of St. Catherine of Alexandria (who was considered a paragon of Christian female intellect) which was flatteringly dedicated to Bianca Maria Visconti.¹⁶¹ Guillaume Fichet is the author of an oration on St. Stephen,¹⁶² and the Carmelite humanist Baptista Mantuanus rewrote numerous lives of the saints in classical verse. His legenda of Bl. Louis Morbioli of Bologna (d.1485), which was finished before 1489, enjoyed considerable success and merited a place in the Acta sanctorum of the Bollandists.¹⁶³ The most historically valuable humanist productions, in common with the nonhumanist hagiography of earlier times, usually concerns saints contemporaneous with their biographers.

For the humanists in general, saints, gods and heroes could easily become confused. After all, a saint might be honorifically addressed as divus. Francesco da Fiano, a humanist official at the Roman curia, writing his Contra detractores poetarum (c.1400), says that 'our faith, too, has its gods; for what the ancients called gods, we call the saints.'¹⁶⁴ Similarly, Aurelio Lippo Brandolini in his Dialogus de humanae vitae... ad Mathiam Corvinum Hungariae speaks of gods and saints in the same breath ("et deos et sanctos appellamus").¹⁶⁵ No wonder, then, that the humanist Ciriaco of Ancona chose Mercury as his patron saint, and departing from Delos, composed a prayer to him.¹⁶⁶ His own namesake St. Quiriacus, patron of Ancona, perhaps had begun to pall. The enthusiasm of an Erasmian mouthpiece called Nephalius is better known. Overcome with piety towards antiquity, he exclaims: Sancte Socrates, ora pro nobis.¹⁶⁷

The cult of saints, in fact, provided the formal model for the proper veneration of revered pagans. Annually, on Plato's birthday, Ficino and his friends would assemble to celebrate a banquet in commemoration. Of course the Symposium was a superb literary precedent, but closer parallels existed in the common meals of the confraternities, held annually on their saint's day.¹⁶⁸ Moreover, and this is a topic worthy of serious study, hagiography continued to influence all secular biography, as it had done throughout the Middle Ages. Seznek remarks that "Ficino's biography of Plato, placed at the head of his translation (Omnia divini Platonis opera...) has the character of the life of a saint."¹⁶⁹

But to see the Renaissance assimilation of hagiographic and secular biographic traditions, one need to look no farther than to Vespasiano's Vite di uomini illustri del Secolo XV. Vespasiano treats almost every sort of fama, ignoring only what would be the special subject of Vasari, the lives of painters, sculptors, and architects.¹⁷⁰ One saint (Bernardino) and two beati (Antonino of Florence, Ambrogio Traversari) figure amidst the host of distinguished prelates, statesmen, and writers. Although the author of the Legenda aurea might not have been much impressed by Vespasiano's quiet and undramatic narratives, the sanctity of each of these three men is brought out most clearly. This sanctity rests almost wholly upon the respective virtues which they practiced in their lifetimes. All three are ideal representatives of their religious orders. Furthermore, Antonino is an exemplary archbishop, Bernardino a model preacher, and Ambrogio combines Christian humane scholarship with the generalship of the Camaldolese monks. Unless one sees

Vespasiano shaping Ambrogio Traversari to fit the features of the Renaissance archetype of the saintly scholar, St. Jerome, and the characteristic emphasis on Jerome's penance is missing from the portrait of Ambrogio, then this pious humanist is the least medieval of Vespasiano's saints. How peculiarly fitting it seems, therefore, that Vespasiano attaches to the conclusion of Ambrogio's vita, and to his vita alone, the report of miraculous flowers blossoming above the saint's grave in mid-winter. "Here was a sign how God honoured his great merit."¹⁷¹ James of Voragine would have been pleased.

The Later Medieval Saints: Demography.

The urge to quantify is perhaps the most widely shared obsession in the historiography of our own day. One quantitative study, historical demography, offers a new perspective for understanding social and cultural behavior; eventually it will take its place among the other so-called ancillary disciplines with which historians must be acquainted.¹⁷² The later Middle Ages, oddly enough, appears to have been equally preoccupied with numbers. "La piété de cette époque, même chez les meilleurs, s'est faite arithmétique."¹⁷³ Aves; rosary beads; days granted in indulgences, masses for the dead — all were counted, and counted most carefully. Vast relic treasuries amassed items almost according to a number standard, where better meant more. Symbolic numbers for virtues, graces, joys, and sorrows were much in vogue.¹⁷⁴

Consequently, numbering the saints is a task which appears at once medieval and modern. Possibly the early development of passions, litanies, and martyrologies is what Le Bras has in mind when he says that the Church undertook "le recensement nécessairement partiel, infiniment limité de cette société céleste (i.e. the saints)... des ses origines."¹⁷⁵ Yet there was a prudent New Testament observation on the futility of a "démographie des élus,"¹⁷⁶ which, like the Old Testament horror of census-takers (cf. II Samuel 24), serves as an appropriate reminder of methodological limitations. In the Apocalypse, St. John sees the blessed standing before the throne and before the Lamb, and he says "vidi turbam magnam, quam dinumerare nemo poterat, ex omnibus gentibus, et tribubus, et populis, et linguis" (Apoc. 7:9). This very passage was, by a happy choice, included in the mass for All Saints.¹⁷⁷

For indeed the problems one faces in attempting a demographic survey of the saints who died between 1200-1500 are formidable. The present writer once had notions of applying the celebrated collective-biographical techniques of the late Sir Lewis Namier to the study of the saints,¹⁷⁸ or of carrying out the sort of thorough prosopographical investigation beloved of the classicists, but this was before the nature of the evidence had been adequately assessed, and the time and skills required for the job had been fully appreciated. At present a much more modest goal seems best: to review the inherent difficulties of evidence and method; to present a rapid sketch of what 'hagio-demographers' (as the Bollandists call them, and with considerable reserve) have achieved; and to suggest lines of departure for future studies.

The first and most overpowering difficulty in trying to take a census of the later medieval saints is to find out who these saints were. The saints of 1200-1500 who were subsequently papally vetted and approved comprise only a proportion of their contemporaries who during the later medieval centuries enjoyed some form of veneration or public acknowledgement for their sanctity. To limit one's survey to papally canonized sanctity is to ignore a good many of the blessed for whom there was a medieval cult, but for whom, through one circumstance or another, there was no medieval or post-medieval papal endorsement. To stray outside the confines of papally ratified sanctity, however, confronts us with the predicament facing the compilers of dictionaries of the saints.

The editors of these indispensable manuals aim for comprehensiveness. The best and most comprehensive of all, the Italian Bibliotheca Sanctorum, endeavors to omit no saint who has left behind him so much as his nudum nomen. Besides admitting all duly canonized and beatified saints, this encyclopedic work encompasses the recipients of the title beatus in the pre-1534 menologies of the religious orders.¹⁷⁹ Now, these order lists tend to grant the same title indiscriminately to brethren receiving a cult and to deceased confrères who simply had a reputation for personal saintliness.¹⁸⁰ Many of the saints and blessed of the Bibliotheca Sanctorum figure among the praetermissi of the Bollandists' Acta. In fact, many cannot be proved to have existed historically, let alone to have been honored with a cult.¹⁸¹ The same general point is made by the late Bollandist Coens in his review of J. Torsy's Lexikon der deutschen Heiligen (Cologne, 1959):

Le grand danger des répertoires hagiologiques est précisément d'énumérer comme 'saints' avec une acception univoque, les personnages les plus disparates, historiques ou légendaires, honorés, ou non, d'un culte public dans l'Église.¹⁸²

Ideally, one would like to see a repertory that either documents historical veneration or carefully appraises the notice of each saint inserted, assigning a place to each on a scale ranging from 'certain' to 'highly doubtful'. With each item thus weighted, proper computations could reliably be made.

G.G. Coulton cites a Franciscan preacher thundering to an audience of peasants and artisans: 'Scarce one from among you is sainted; I say not "is saved," but "is canonized," has his feast kept as a holy-day.'¹⁸³ In another work, Coulton tries to verify these accusations that the peasants were almost without saints. Taking two months of Butler at random, he notes the social background of the 275 saints whose origins are specified, and comes up with sixteen cases of humble birth.¹⁸⁴ However laudable and pioneering these researches of Coulton were, we cannot take his results at their face value. Butler's Lives of the Saints, even in its most scholarly revision, that of Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater, remains more of a pious than a learned anthology; and Coulton does not say which edition he used. Moreover, hagiographic convention colors every 'fact' presented. Just as nobility was freely bestowed by hagiographers, so very humble origins might have seemed more vivid to them than merely indifferent parentage.

Equally based on Alban Butler, in Thurston and Attwater's edition, is the book by the sociologist Pitirim Sorokin, Altruistic

Love: a Study of American 'Good Neighbors' and Christian Saints (Boston, 1950). Basically a work of edification in statistical dress, Sorokin's book at least has the merit of showing the sort of questions which can be asked, and which cannot. A naive trust in the veracity of hagiographical data is not the best preparation for compiling statistical tables of longevity, psychological "routes to sainthood," social class, etc. Over the course of time, Sorokin finds a total of 3,090 saints with 43.3% of them concentrating in the third to seventh centuries; in contrast, the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries can claim only 14.7% of all Christian saints. From the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, the number of saints decline (respectively 188,144, and 119), only to rise again with the martyrs of the Reformation era (197).¹⁸⁵

Sorokin believes that the high percentage of clergy among the saints is explicable both in terms of institutions rewarding their best people and because of the clergy's consecrated status.¹⁸⁶ The fall in papal saints from the early to the modern church is not satisfactorily explained,¹⁸⁷ and neither is the relative advance of female saints from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, when the percentage of saints belonging to their sex rose from 22.3% to 28.5% to fall slightly back to 26.1%.¹⁸⁸ Discussing saints in relation to their social environment, Sorokin affirms that the fourteenth century is the watershed; after it, saints who remain in the world tend to increase.¹⁸⁹ Finally, he holds that "each social stratum... tends to contribute its share of the saints during the periods of its maximal power and prestige" and when a class declines, so do its saints.¹⁹⁰

In 1955, K. and C.H. George published their own study also principally based on Alban Butler in the Thurston and Attwater edition. Their "Roman Catholic Sainthood and Social Status: a Statistical and Analytical Study" takes issue with Sorokin, boasts of identifying the social status of more saints than he had been able to do (2,494 saints compared to 1,280),¹⁹¹ but really proceeds along similar lines. Most notable is the bold anachronism with which the Georges divide their twenty centuries of saints into three rigid classes — upper, middle, lower — ignoring those categories which would have had some meaning in past societies. The Georges conclude that after the twelfth century, middle class saints, among whom St. Francis finds his place, gradually increase in numbers, while the percentage of aristocratic saints gradually diminishes.¹⁹² The first upsurge of lower class saints occurred in the fourteenth century. The Georges obtained 148 saints from the thirteenth century, 118 from the fourteenth, and 89 from the fifteenth.¹⁹³

J.F. Broderick's "A Census of the Saints (993-1955)," which appeared in 1956, confines itself to "all the saints whose formal canonization is solidly attested."¹⁹⁴ As his footnotes show, Broderick has read widely in the history of canonization procedure and is usually not uncritical of hagiographic data. His results are far less sweeping than those of either Sorokin or the Georges, but inspire greater confidence. Broderick arrives at a total of 283 saints,¹⁹⁵ of whom thirty (including the seven founders of the Servites) come from the thirteenth, twelve from the fourteenth, and nineteenth from the fifteenth centuries.¹⁹⁶ Nine of these

saints, Broderick assigns to the laity; yet he fails to note that at least four of the nine belonged to mendicant third orders. Of these sixty-one later medieval saints, fifteen are female. The fourteenth century sees one-half its canonized saints as females.

Broderick's census raises several critical problems. His category 'land of birth' is imperceptive, and leads to serious distortion. Thus Hugh of Lincoln is assigned to France and Anthony of Padua to Portugal, despite the fact that recognition of sanctity and cult promotion occurred in the lands where their careers and reputations were acquired — England and Italy. Moreover, the very late canonization of some saints (e.g. St. Margaret of Cortona: d.1297, can.1728; St. Clare of Montefalco: d.1308, can.1881; St. Joan of Arc: d.1431, can.1920) makes one wonder if the recognition of their sanctity reflects the judgement of a different era, and so distorts the medieval view.¹⁹⁷ Finally, Broderick like Sorokin is amazed at the longevity of saints (disregarding martyrs of course).¹⁹⁸ What both fail to appreciate is the unreliability of ancient and medieval hagiographers in matters of this kind, and the fact that venerability itself might be a predisposing factor in the recognition of sanctity during some historical epochs.

Professor Hay, taking his data from Mas Latrie and Pastor, remarks upon the high representation of Italian saints; the growing percentage of female saints; and the later medieval localization of cult and influence as seen in the emergence of the 'vernacular' saint.¹⁹⁹ Changing his emphasis from the demography of sanctity to the social pressure for saints in Italy, he suggests that in

the Italian recognition of saints there was "an assertion of a kind of patriotism rooted in a local cult."²⁰⁰ "If Italy was then a land of saints,"²⁰¹ it was also a land where saints and their cults were welcomed, where social needs encouraged the identification of sanctity. Patterns of veneration, therefore, cannot be disjoined from the production of saints.

Our final hagio-demographer and sociologist of sanctity is the Belgian Jesuit, Pierre Delooz, whose published thesis, prefaced by a glowing testimonial from the late Gabriel Le Bras,²⁰² ambitiously sets out to examine nearly a thousand years of Catholic sainthood, touching upon most of the fundamental issues already raised with considerable appreciation for their historical complexities. To Delooz, the recognition of a saint depends upon the perception of others, and so "on commence en effet, par être saint pour une communauté particulière" - especially for those who initiate and promote the ensuing cult.²⁰³ This insight into the fact that saintmaking involves a specific social milieu is never entirely lost, although the heroic scale of Delooz's thesis prevents him from exploring the social context of any one cult with the detail and rigor that historians find satisfying.

According to Delooz, canonization is itself the outcome of concerted social pressure which is expressed along institutionally defined paths.²⁰⁴ These paths, the juridical procedures for the official recognition of sanctity which have been in force during various epochs, are worthy of notice because each of them reflects a particular sort of social pressure. Hence, Delooz argues, it

would be mistaken to regard all saints as sociologically interchangeable or to base computations upon an integrated roster of saints, when, in fact, neither the statuses of saints (e.g. saints or beati) nor their respective means of ecclesiastical selection have been the same.²⁰⁵ Delooz, therefore, divides his saints into four classes corresponding to the procedures through which their sanctity has been officially recognised. His first group consists of saints, who, for the most part, were papally canonized before the new legislation of 1634. His second group of saints acquired recognition through individual churches. Most of them would today be thought of as local saints or beati. Their cults, antedating the seventeenth century, originally had nothing to do with papal ratification. After 1634, however, a good many of these cults were simply endorsed by the papacy as being immemorial (confirmation per viam cultus). Delooz's third group of saints were canonized as the result of a formal process before the Congregation of Rites (the first such canonization he lists is for St. Hyacinth Odrovaz, a Polish Dominican, d. 1257, can. 1594). The fourth group includes blessed who were beatified, from the seventeenth century onwards, before the Congregation of Rites.²⁰⁶

Saints from 1200-1500 may be found in all four of Delooz's groupings, if not in equal numbers. At this point Delooz must take up the burden of assembling a reliable roster of acknowledged saints. No difficulties arise from the third and fourth groupings: the saints found within them may be documented; so there is no danger of omission here. For the saints of group one, there may be some gaps and uncertainties, but this list, too, is more or less

complete.²⁰⁷ The major hurdle is group two. To compile his inventory of saints venerated by individual churches, that awe-inspiring multitude of local beati who may or may not have received formal papal endorsement, Delooz turned to the (still unfinished) Acta sanctorum and to the standard repertories like the revised Butler, Holweck, the Benedictines of Ramsgate, and the Benedictines of Paris. The Bibliotheca Sanctorum was then still in the process of publication.²⁰⁸ Now, these collections, however valuable they are, are rarely based on a great deal of original research. For the most part, they seem to derive from one another or from still earlier compilations. It is safe to assume that for the bulk of local beati little effort has been made to ascertain proof of a tradition of veneration by checking local martyrologies and calendars, altar dedications, images, and so on. Worse still, since there is no official list of cults which have received papal confirmation,²⁰⁹ there is no convenient way for a scholar to judge the accuracy of a statement in a repertory that this or that cult has been confirmed. Delooz is, therefore, under no illusions about the limitations of his second groupings of saints; as he quite honestly maintains, this catalogue of names and death dates must be considered provisional, to be modified by further investigations.²¹⁰

The statistics which Delooz has so conscientiously gathered may be summarized in tabular form.

TABLE F

Enumeration of Saints by Grouping and Century of Death,Adapted from Delooz.²¹¹

	<u>13th Century</u>	<u>14th Century</u>	<u>15th Century</u>
First Group	32	8	5
Second Group	269	180	129
Third Group	11	7	13
Fourth Group	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>
Totals	312	195	149

Overall Number of Saints: 656.

Perhaps the greatest benefit of Delooz's classification scheme is that we can see immediately a crucial weakness in his statistics: precisely the least verifiable class (group two) contributes the overwhelming mass of the items. If we discount this class, the slump between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the number of saints produced (from forty-three to fifteen) is accentuated, but the relative standing of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is reversed (fifteen and twenty respectively). On the other hand, if we argue that medieval perceptions of medieval sanctity are most likely in the first two groups and that the procedures employed in group three and four run the risk of imposing modern judgements upon medieval personages, then our totals (13th century: 301, 14th century: 188, 15th century: 134) indicate just about the same descending curve as the initial tabulations.

Delooz puts no faith in the supposed abnormal longevity of the saints. To him, the saints are not a random population, but a pre-selected one. Since the majority of the medieval saints were males, and of these the bulk were monks or secular ecclesiastics, it seems natural to him that such people who had survived childhood and had been admitted to a religious vocation without serious physical defect should attain to more years than the average.²¹² Unfortunately, Delooz's views on the social status of the saints are rendered doubtful by a lack of concrete information; for this reason, all the saints of his second group have had to be omitted from his computations. However unconvincing, his conclusions are that (except perhaps for the thirteenth century where there were many saints whose social origins are unknown) the medieval saints "se recrutent surtout parmi les riches." Probably the most valuable and suggestive aspect of his discussion on saints and their relationship to society is his brief comment on social prominence.²¹³ For saints to be recognized their sanctity must somehow become socially conspicuous. High birth and great wealth automatically ensure this, of course, but so do saintly eccentricities, mystical graces, new devotions, and conspicuous religious roles (e.g. bishops, order founders, preachers). Perhaps a historical survey of the social prominence of saints would yield interesting results. Canonization processes could often tell us who came into contact with the future saint and under what circumstances.

Calling for examination are Delooz's findings on regional differences in the medieval production of saints (why, as Professor

Hay has noted, are Italians especially plentiful among the saints, while some other areas seem comparatively under-represented?); on fluctuations in the types of saints chosen (e.g. the increase in lay saints); and on the meaning of the post-thirteenth century recession in recognised sanctity (if this is something upon which agreement may be reached). In order to make more sense of statistical abstractions, however, it may be helpful to review the modes of 'saintmaking' more systematically than has heretofore been done.

Throughout the Middle Ages, the popular recognition of sanctity was an indispensable prerequisite to official, ecclesiastical recognition. Neither episcopal nor papal canonization could create a saint who first lacked some sort of popular following, an initial band of believers. From this circle came the earliest marks of devotion and often to these devotees the first miracles were granted. In this respect, Delooz's first two groupings are sociologically interchangeable: both local beati and papally canonized saints began with intense, circumscribed, popular acknowledgement of their sanctity. Popular acclamation could not guarantee episcopal or papal acceptance, but it was an indispensable first step on the road to that acceptance; this was as true of the Catholic West as it was of the Russian Orthodox East.²¹⁴ Even with the rise of stricter canonization procedures in the later Middle Ages, it is no exaggeration to speak of popular saintmaking.

Far from denying that Vox populi, vox Dei,²¹⁵ the medieval papal reservation of the right to canonise (as incorporated in the 1234 Decretals of Gregory IX) may be said to have institutionalized

the popular recognition of sanctity. Enthusiastic behavior at the graveside, miracles, images and ex-votos, candles, a tomb, a vita, the decision to initiate a process at Rome - all, in fact, logically presuppose this prior recognition. But canonization by the people did not necessarily culminate in canonization by the pope. To secure a process at Rome involved heavy expenses, required expert legal advice, and demanded infinite patience.²¹⁶ Naturally, papal canonization would, therefore, have to remain the enviable privilege of a minority of the saints to whom popular recognition had already been accorded. This meant that unless the ecclesiastical authorities were determined to put a stop to a particular cult, when, for example, the popular hero could be shown to have been a heretic, the local veneration of papally uncanonized saints would continue. So, local saints whose causes had never been introduced at the curia, or whose processes had languished or lapsed there, continued to receive a variety of honors including or stopping short of liturgical veneration well after 1234.

Not until the legislation of Urban VIII in 1625 and 1634 did the papacy call a halt to "una spontanea venerazione popolare che presto si trasformò in vero culto" by insisting that any such unapproved cult in a new putative saint would stand as an impediment to his future canonization.²¹⁷ (What had precipitated these tighter regulations was popular zeal for the great heroes of the Catholic Reformation like St. Ignatius and St. Filippo Neri; unauthorized popular veneration for such saints had excited much scandal.²¹⁸) But, during the four centuries from 1234 to 1634 it would be ill-founded to believe that popular saintmaking had lost its importance,

that canonization had become a papal monopoly.²¹⁹

To take stock of popular saintmaking in the later Middle Ages, one must be prepared to look at cults which came to nothing as well as cults which eventually, centuries afterwards, received papal confirmation. The Bollandists, who emphasize liturgical proofs of cult and for whom continuity of veneration matters a good deal, do not worry, if, in inserting a new name among the praetermissi of their Acta sanctorum, they misrepresent the judgement of at least some contemporaries who did regard the deceased as a saint. That Matthew Paris refers to the late Bishop of London Roger Niger (d.1241) as a saint may not be very significant. But, when one reads of a candle kept burning before his heart in the abbey of Beeleigh in Essex and hears of an indulgence granted to those who visited the abbey and gave charity there 'on the feast of St. Roger',²²⁰ the evidence of some sort of popular following appears plain.

When Robert Grosseteste died in 1253, he was hailed as a saint almost immediately. Matthew Paris refers to him as sanctus and credits him with performing miracles at Lincoln. Other chroniclers, too, praise his sanctity and mention miracles. There were pilgrimages to his tomb. He was liturgically commemorated by an "office which was neither the ordinary requiem mass nor the proper of a confessor bishop." In 1314 Bishop Dalderby granted forty days of indulgence to pilgrims journeying to his shrine.²²¹ As 'saint Robert' he comes down to us in a vernacular MS., and he is so described in an Anglo-Norman poem.²²² Quite evidently, to some believers of the period, he was a saint. Should we consider

that his omission (like Roger Niger's) from Delooz's group two is justifiable, or that it distorts a thirteenth century perception?

Nearly nothing is known about two local beati of Durham John Warton (ante-1456; first called sanctus in 1513) and Robert of Stanhope, but there is enough to show a popular belief in their sanctity, and signs of cult.²²³ Needless to say, they find no place in the usual repertories, nor in Delooz's computations. More serious, however, is the omission of John Schorn (d.1308), for whom there exists good indications of popular veneration.²²⁴ Popular saintmaking in later medieval England has rarely been appraised at the level which the data indicate.

But for later medieval Italy, we have almost an embarrassment of riches, with popular saintmaking there having a characteristically urban quality. It was the republic of Siena which recognized the sanctity of a pious comb-maker named Peter Tecelano. When he died in 1289, the municipality paid for his monument - 'unum sepulcrum nobile' - and his fama was such that Dante alludes to him ("Pier Pettignano [pettini: combs] in sue sante orazioni"), as interceding for a fellow Sienese (Purgatorio XIII, v.106ff.).²²⁵ The city republic could reward sanctity; so could the signore. James Philip Bertoni was a Servite who died at his order's convent at Faenza (25 May 1483). A friar (probably a confrère) roused the people to great enthusiasm by extolling the deceased's virtues in a funeral sermon. By popular consent the corpse of Fra Giacomo Filippo was publically exhibited for several days on a catafalque so that cures might be obtained. Miracles were followed by a visit of the

signore, who then ordered that full honors should be bestowed upon the deceased and that he should receive the veneration of the faithful ('venerandumque mandavit'). Probably on the next Sunday (31 May), a kind of civic canonization took place, with processions, solemn mass, and so on. Only the Dominicans braved the displeasure of their fellow townsmen by refusing to attend because papal permission had not been solicited, and here it is likely, that order jealousy helped to stimulate, if not give rise to, their scruples. Three years after the death of Bertoni, Faenza celebrated his feast as that of a beatus.²²⁶ Tecelano's cult was confirmed in 1802; Bertoni's in 1766.²²⁷

In Boccaccio's most famous metamorphosis, the wicked Ser Cepperello becomes the exemplary Saint Ciappelletto (Decameron II). The swindle was achieved through a false confession; the cult began with the confessor's laudatory funeral sermon, which provoked an outburst of relic grabbing, followed by miracles. The story illustrates a hunger for saints, and we tend to think of it as typically Italian, even though Boccaccio places the episode in Burgundy. Perhaps it was this kind of undiscerning, impulsive popular canonization which the humanist Francesco da Fiano had in mind when he wrote:

I at least am convinced that Augustine, if he lived in our days, would direct the same irony /as he had directed against the pagan gods/ against certain 'saints' made such not by proved miracles, not by the Mother Church, but by the inane and ridiculous belief of nameless people....²²⁸

It is interesting that da Fiano seems to discriminate between papal and popular canonization, contrasting not only the authority

of the Roman Church but also its respect for due process with the anonymous and impetuous actions of the crowd.

Nevertheless, historically speaking, da Fiano's fine discrimination has proved to be irrelevant. In the long run, what has proved to be important is continuous veneration. The seventeenth century legislation of Urban VIII established an equipollent in addition to a formal mode of canonization or beatification. For saints or blessed whose cult had begun after the pontificate of Alexander III (d.1181) and before the 1634 regulations of Urban, where proof of immemorial veneration could be presented, official endorsement was available per viam cultus.²²⁹ A high percentage of the so-called noncanonized saints (actually popularly canonized saints) of the Middle Ages, which Kemp lists, were thus ultimately recognized by Rome.²³⁰ England, perhaps because continuous veneration suffered a major sixteenth century interruption, does not seem to have fared as well as other countries in securing papal ratification of its beati. It is doubtful that the demographers of sanctity have made sufficient allowance for these historical anomalies. Anyway, the omnipresence of popular saintmaking in the Middle Ages is instructive. It teaches us, for example, why St. Bernardino concludes a long litany for All Saints with an invocation to his eleventh and final category of saint: omnes beati, licet non sint canonizati.²³¹

Supervising the cult of these popularly canonized but papally uncanonized beati was the responsibility of the episcopate. Bishops were allowed to exercise their discretion in deciding whether to

tolerate a local cult or to command its cessation.²³² In 1279, William de Lay was dragged out of the churchyard of Saints Philip and James of Bristol, where he had taken sanctuary, and executed by the secular authorities. Bishop Godfred Giffard excommunicated those who had been guilty of violating sanctuary, and ordered that de Lay be reburied in consecrated ground. But the matter did not end there, for the people of Bristol soon came to regard William de Lay, a man unjustly killed, as a martyr. Miracles were reported, pilgrimages began to William's grave, and the dead man became the hero of popular song. Again Bishop Giffard was forced to act; evidently knowing that 'the said William had often been in prison,' he opposed the development of a popular cult.²³³

Elsewhere, however, roughly similar external circumstances did result in the establishment of ongoing popular veneration. The murder of Margaret of Louvain (c.1225), a servant girl at a pilgrims' hostel, by robbers who had also killed her employers, led to miracles and a successful cult (confirmed in 1905).²³⁴ The Bl. Margaret of Louvain figures in Delooz's second grouping; William de Lay, perhaps because of the stricter verdict of Bishop Giffard, figures nowhere. When Kemp maintains that "the evidence [of popular canonization] for England shows little that goes beyond a temporary popular devotion to the memory of certain persons"²³⁵ (emphasis added), isn't he really implying a more rigorous episcopal supervision of popular devotion in England than in some continental dioceses?

Yet episcopal supervision was not limited to restraint. Bishops could encourage, promote, or inaugurate cults within their

diocesan boundaries. The English canonist Lyndwood (d.1446) taught that bishops could establish diocesan feasts of saints before their cult had been authorized by papal canonization.²³⁶ This practice amounts more or less to episcopal beatification. Bl. Peter of Luxemburg (d.1387, beat.1527) was patron of Avignon from 1432.²³⁷ St. Yves of Brittany (d.1303, can.1347) had a local cult at Tréguier, authorized by the bishop, from 1334, which included the recitation of 'hours of Saint Yves' on Monday of each week.²³⁸

It is essential to recall that before canonization became a power reserved for the papacy, bishops and their synods had the right to canonize saints for their respective dioceses, and this right was still upheld as late as the accession of Pope Alexander III in 1159.²³⁹ If episcopal canonization lapsed in England after the first secure papal canonization of an English saint - Edward the Confessor (can.1161),²⁴⁰ greater latitude seems to have existed on the continent, where a few bishops refused to relinquish their former prerogatives so easily.²⁴¹ Löw mentions instances of episcopal canonization continuing until the fourteenth century, although he cites only one example. In 1215 the Bishop of Anagni canonized Peter of Trevi, prout poterat, in the company of neighboring prelates.²⁴²

Still, in point of fact, episcopal canonization had come to be nearly extinct by the later Middle Ages. What actually characterized the period was the papal reservation of the authority to create new saints for the entire Latin Church. Partially, the

history of the papal reservation, and the removal of the power to canonize from the hands of bishops and their synods, is simply an aspect of the growth of papal monarchy.²⁴³ To a certain extent as well, the papal reservation was part of the papacy's response to the dangers of uncontrolled popular devotions and the threat of heresy, and to the opportunities of providing suitably vetted heroes of the faith whose lives would symbolize the aspirations of the Church.²⁴⁴

Yet popular aspirations also contributed to the papal victory. Papal canonization was popularly solicited well before the papacy reserved it as an exclusive right. Between 993 when John XV canonized St. Ulric and 1234 when the Decretals of Gregory IX asserted the papal claim, the demand for papal canonization steadily increased.²⁴⁵ The pontificate of Alexander III (1159-1181) with twelve causes initiated or completed during his reign - is certainly the dramatic turning point.²⁴⁶ One may conclude from this popular demand preceding 1234 that papal canonization was seen to be a supreme honor, rather than a legal necessity, for a putative saint. Precisely at a time when papal judicial services were assuming such great importance for all of Christendom, a favorable papal judgement in matters of sanctity would bring further glory to the saint upon whom it was conferred.

Thus it is important to see the canonization of saints by the Roman pontiffs as simultaneously serving their own interests and satisfying popular enthusiasm. This reciprocity of popular and papal objectives was inherent and continuing; and indeed is so

plain that it would scarcely be worth mentioning, if some writers did not tend to emphasize one side of the story at the expense of the other. It is just as oversimplified to regard later medieval papal canonization solely in to^p-to-bottom terms (i.e. the papacy imposing its selection of saints upon the people) as it is to adopt the opposite perspective (i.e. popular pressure forcing its candidates upon a reluctant papacy). Both of these views distort a situation whose very fascination arises out of the complex interaction of popular religion and cult promotion at the base with ecclesiastical politics at the apex.

This complexity becomes apparent as soon as one attempts to identify the individuals or groups who initiate a process. Popular support may have been diffused throughout a locality, but to promote a cause at Rome, institutional backing of some sort was indispensable. Now it is frequently asserted that the papacy's rôle has always been a more or less passive one. "It is not the pope who is anxious to 'make saints', but the people.... The impulse comes, not from above, but from below."²⁴⁷ Yet in the cause of St.Dominic "it was the Holy See which took the initiative," and the same might be said for St.Peter Martyr's process.²⁴⁸ Gregory IX, who canonized St.Francis, had been his friend and the protector of his order. Similar instances could be cited, but it is true that even for circumstances where the papal initiative is patent, there was also organized, popular support.

Moreover, any papal initiative in introducing a cause would tend to be less important to its outcome as the time between the

cause's introduction and its successful conclusion became increasingly greater. Discontinuity in papal aims or unpropitious political conditions could mean that one pope was not eager to hasten what a predecessor had begun. Hence organized backing was crucial to the eventual achievement of papal canonization.

Without a doubt, the religious orders were institutionally and financially well equipped to promote their own deceased and saintly brethren. But not all of them were equally zealous in advancing their saints. The Carthusians were perhaps the most unconcerned or diffident, for their founder St. Bruno (d. 1101) was never formally canonized, and the canonization of the Carthusian St. Hugh of Lincoln (d. 1200, can. 1220) surely owed more to his episcopal connections than to the promotion of his order.²⁴⁹ On the other hand, the Cistercians were solidly behind the cause of St. Edmund of Rich (d. 1240, can. 1247), who although he was no Cistercian, was a confrater of the Cistercian house at Pontigny, where he was buried.²⁵⁰

There is no need to dwell on the Franciscans; their achievement is conspicuous. Before 1500, fourteen members of their religious family (including St. Clare from the second order, and three tertiaries) had secured the papal accolade.²⁵¹ For the same period, there are five Dominicans (including one tertiary - St. Catherine of Siena).²⁵² Delaruelle believes that by a symmetry decided upon in Rome the (first orders of) Franciscans and Dominicans were held to three saints each.²⁵³ Certainly, both religious families acquired a fourth first-order saint within five years of one another

(St. Bernardino of Siena, can.1450, St. Vincent Ferrer, can.1455). It is only during the pontificate of Sixtus IV (1471-84), who, as Pastor remarked, showed evident partiality for his own Franciscan order, that the balance tipped decisively towards the Franciscans, and six of their saints were canonized (St. Bonaventura, can.1482, and the five martyrs of Morocco, can.1481).²⁵⁴

In Italy especially, cities were diligent in working for the canonization of the saints associated with them through birth, residence, or death. Siena in 1444 sent the spectacles of Bernardino, and a cap that had once belonged to him, to the Duke of Milan, hoping by means of these relics to cure his failing eyesight (ineffectually, as it turned out), on the express condition that the Duke would use his influence with the pope to get Bernardino canonized.²⁵⁵ An embassy from Padua went to Rome to promote the canonization of their St. Anthony (d.1231, can.1232); he was looked upon as a saint during his lifetime, and at his death the different districts of Padua fought over his relics. But Padua's interest in canonizing its saint also had political overtones. The magistrates sought thereby to keep Padua more securely on the Guelf side while the struggle with the Ghibellines was continuing.²⁵⁶

Dynasties also wanted to sanctify themselves with a canonized ancestor. Family pride and practical politics were both involved. St. Elizabeth (d.1231, can.1235) was the daughter of the King of Hungary and the widow of the former Landgrave of Thuringia, Louis IV; in addition to the powerful support of these houses, her cause enlisted the backing of the Teutonic Order, which was closely allied with the Thuringian royal family.²⁵⁷ In his bull of canonization

for St. Louis of Toulouse (d. 1297, can. 1317), Pope John XXII, who had known Louis and who owed his election to Robert of Anjou, Louis' brother, referred to the great joy that this would bring to the royal houses of France, Sicily, Hungary, and to the Franciscans; these forces had combined to achieve Louis' canonization.²⁵⁸ St. Hedwig (d. 1243, can. 1267) had been Duchess of Silesia; her canonization was sponsored by the ruling Silesian dynasty, who attempted to propagate her cult as a way of unifying the various principalities of Poland.²⁵⁹

The striking dynastic commitment to promote candidates for sainthood is well illustrated by a clause in the September 1383 testament of Louis I, Duke of Anjou, the son-in-law of Charles of Blois:

Item: diligemment et de tout nostre pouvoir nous poursuivrons à despens les canonizacions de sainte mémoire pape Urbain V^e, de messire Charles, jadis duc de Bretagne, père de la royne nostre compaignie, et celle de la femme [de] saint Elizeare, conte de Arian.²⁶⁰

Given the dedication which this commitment exemplifies, together with the financial burdens of sponsoring a papal canonization, the presence of so many aristocrats in the ranks of the canonized is hardly surprising.

With good reason, Pope Innocent III made reference to his plenitudo potestatis in canonizing St. Cunegund in 1200.²⁶¹ The papacy was aware not only of the theological implications of its power to canonize, but also of the political advantages to be gained in the judicious and sparing use it made of this power. When in 1160, Henry II of England decided to recognize Alexander III

instead of his schismatic rival, Bishop Gilbert Foliot wrote to the pope soliciting the canonization of Edward the Confessor, "suggesting delicately but plainly that this would be an appropriate return for Henry's allegiance." Edward was canonized in 1161.²⁶² Kemp brings forward two reasons for the failure of Robert Grosseteste's cause: provincial and unimpressive petitioners, plus the scars left by the great bishop's relentless criticism of the papal curia.²⁶³ Obviously candidates who had given offense to Rome within the living memory of the curia were not in an advantageous position. But candidates to whom the pope had personally been devoted or who had shared with the pope some significant affiliation must have had a correspondingly better chance.²⁶⁴ Pope Urban V had the pleasure of canonizing his uncle Elzear of Sabran (d.1323, can.1369),²⁶⁵ while, in his Commentaries, Pius II, who canonized St.Catherine, declared: 'To a Sienese has been granted the happy privilege of proclaiming the sanctity of a daughter of Siena.'²⁶⁶

It is, however, possible to speak of a politics of canonization beyond personal devotion to a saint or to the community fostering his cult. Sorokin is naive when he considers canonization to be a reward for "services to the Church."²⁶⁷ Politics is not for the dead, but for the living. Pope Boniface VIII was trying to crush the Colonna family in May of 1297, and was also embroiled in a famous quarrel with Philip the Fair. In order to achieve his primary ambition and neutralize the opposition of the French throne, he honored Philip and France by canonizing St.Louis IX that year.²⁶⁸ Knowing when to canonize was the pope's trump card. If there was no reason to reject a cause, he could always defer it.

Besides, in Rome there was a nagging belief that a new canonization would be followed by the death of the pope,²⁶⁹ which was an excellent, though perhaps not readily admitted, reason for postponement.

According to the most secure information on papal canonizations, the popes at Avignon canonized a mere seven saints (Celestine V, Louis of Toulouse, Thomas Cantelupe, Thomas Aquinas, Yves, Robert of Chaise-Dieu, and Elzear of Sabran). The four popes who canonized these saints were Frenchmen. Louis of Toulouse was of the Angevin house of Naples and was venerated in Italy and in southern France where his relics lay. Thomas Aquinas, was born and died in Italy, but his cult was strongly promoted by the University of Paris,²⁷¹ with which, even today, his name is linked. Robert founded the abbey of Chaise-Dieu in the Auvergne (d.1067).^{271a} Yves was a Breton, and Elzear a Provençal. Only Celestine and Thomas Cantelupe seem to be lacking in any pronounced ties with France; and the list, short as it is, does appear to have a distinctly French flavor.

Even the canonization of Peter Morrone or Celestine V, to whom Dante's censure is traditionally applied "che fece per viltate il gran rifiuto" (Inferno, III, 60) was prompted by the pressure of Philip the Fair and the Colonna cardinals who also and at the same time had been trying to get Boniface VIII posthumously condemned for heresy. With relief, Clement V dropped the indictment against one of his predecessors and canonized the other.²⁷² The papacy was saved from embarrassment. That Clement was permitted to drop the proceedings against Boniface appears highly relevant to the

canonization of Celestine; the sanctification of the latter pope was another way of blackening the reputation of the former, but a way much less painful to the Church.

As a spectacle, papal canonization becomes ever more elaborate, a fit subject for artists to depict.²⁷³ As a liturgical rite, it naturally grows in pomp from the canonization of St. Francis in 1228, which included a sermon by the pope and the reading of the saint's miracula, to the canonization of St. Bonaventura in 1482, where, with the addition of litanies and the petitio canonizationis, the liturgical development had basically been completed. In 1391, the canonization of St. Bridget of Sweden had required two days, the use of St. Peter's, the singing of numerous hymns, and processions with candles.²⁷⁴ Such pomp did not come cheaply. Defined investigative procedures, detailed reports, and new officials like the postulator, who makes his appearance in the thirteenth century,²⁷⁵ all made for greater sophistication and thoroughness in vetting prospective saints, but also for greater expense, and increasing delay. A quick canonization was regarded as a marvel, even in the thirteenth century.²⁷⁶ *By the fifteenth, it was, in truth, a near miracle.* Thus the astonishingly brief span of six years which elapsed between the death of St. Bernardino of Siena and his canonization is an eloquent tribute to his popularity, and to papal approval.

Ordinarily, those who sought to see a saint canonized by the pope needed - more than ready cash or powerful advocates - an iron resolve, and several generations. The canonization of St. Osmund is worth recalling. Bishop Osmund (d. 1099) the nephew of William

the Conqueror, had built the greater part of Old Sarum cathedral, and had there endowed a chapter of secular canons. He was believed to have instituted the use of Sarum. The seventh Bishop of Old Sarum, Richard Poore, and his chapter, made the first efforts to get St. Osmund canonized in 1228. Pope Gregory called for an inquiry into Osmund's life and miracles, but the 1228 proceedings came to nothing. Further efforts were made a century and a half later. Yet, owing perhaps to the Great Schism and to a dispute between bishop and chapter, these attempts proved unsuccessful.

A new petition by Bishop Halam (1408-17) was referred to a cardinal who then died. But in 1416 the chapter began a major campaign to achieve its goal. First, there was a rally (4 May) in which the former chancellor of the University of Oxford, Richard Ullerston, delivered a sermon saying "iustum est et ratio exigit Egregium virum Osmundum sanctorum cathalogo ascribi...".²⁷⁷ Next (22 July), the canons pledged themselves to donate towards the canonization campaign a tenth of their annual income from prebends for seven years, and also the entrance fees of newly resident canons during this same period. Then, another petition was submitted which led in 1424 to a papal commission of inquiry. Despite the work of recording many depositions and the costly employment of agents in Rome, the affair seems to have languished until, in 1450, a new bishop and a new dean resolved to hasten matters. Their proctors in Rome approached every influential churchman whose good will could be enlisted.

Upton and Houchyns, the English proctors at Rome, constantly

begged for more funds, more letters from prominent Englishmen in support of the process, and warned of obstructions in the path. A movement to canonize Anselm of Canterbury was threatening to interfere. The pope, Cardinal Firman told them, did not want to canonize Bishop Osmund at present for fear of offending the royal houses of France and Aragon who were urging the canonization of Vincent Ferrer. Alphonso Borgia, Cardinal Archbishop of Valencia, had remarked to his fellow cardinals (or so he told Houchyns) that the mendicants were monopolizing the canonizations, and

*si iste Osmundus fuisset de ordine mendicantium
canonizatus fuisset diu ante hec tempora, sed
quia portauit habitum nostrum... ideo differre
debet, quod nobis dedecus est.*²⁷⁸

Interestingly enough, an advocate of the consistory court advised the procurators to have the English hint that they were going to elevate the relics of Osmund and venerate him without sanction from Rome, for this information, it was alleged, would cause the pope to fear a breach with England, and would thus hasten the canonization.

Finally, the English made their most important convert - John Lax, private secretary to Cardinal Borgia. Lax himself became a proctor, and when his employer was enthroned as Pope Calixtus III, there was rejoicing in Salisbury. At long last, the end was in sight. A misunderstanding between Lax and Salisbury was settled, and then Pope Calixtus announced his intention to canonize Bishop Osmund on 1 January 1457. Lax was rewarded with two English prebends. Altogether the canonization had cost the bishop and chapter £731.13/-, and had taken 229 years to accomplish.²⁷⁹

No wonder, then, that so many saints remained popularly venerated rather than canonized. Even in the twelfth century, a process at Rome had seemed too intimidating for poorer monasteries and more backward dioceses.²⁸⁰ The economics of canonization loomed too large for some saints;²⁸¹ crises like the Great Schism proved too much for others. The causes of many candidates for official sainthood were, consequently, abandoned. Clare of Montefalco (d.1308) was locally venerated immediately after her death. John XXII appointed a commission of investigation into her cause in 1318; yet her process went no further until the nineteenth century.²⁸²

The Carmelite Bishop Peter Thomas (d.1366) was called a saint in the course of a funeral oration delivered by a Franciscan doctor of theology and provincial of the Holy Land who told the Archbishop of Nicosia, in his defense, that he was impelled to do so by the Holy Spirit. This preacher, Juan Carmesson, followed the example of the famous Philippe de Mézières in writing Peter Thomas's vita. There were abundant miracles, and other evidence of popular enthusiasm. Peter Thomas had been a papal legate; his cause was supported by the King of Cyprus; the Carmelites imposed a tax on their brethren, partially to advance his canonization process, in 1375. He was never canonized.²⁸³

To some contemporaries this meant frustration and resentment. In the mid-thirteenth century Brother Giles of Assisi had complained that the superiors of his Franciscan Order were guilty of neglect in not pressing for the canonization of the martyrs of Morocco

(can.1481).²⁸⁴ But other churchmen, worried about the flood of new saints, were desirous of still greater delays and even tighter restrictions. Hostiensis was afraid that an inflation of saints would lead to a depreciation of sanctity.²⁸⁵ Marsiglio of Padua, perhaps alluding to John XXII's canonization of Thomas Aquinas, thought that the entire cult of saints should come under the control of a general Church council, since an unscrupulous bishop might try to use canonization to prop up his own position.²⁸⁶ Henry of Langenstein²⁸⁷ felt that there were already too many new saints for the good of the Church, and thus opposed the addition of Urban V, Bridget of Sweden, and Charles of Brittany to the ranks of the canonized.²⁸⁸

But when Erasmus said that "multi sunt in consortio sanctorum qui non sunt apud nos in catalogo" - though, as Hans Baron remarks, he probably had Socrates and Cicero in mind²⁸⁹ - he was undoubtedly articulating what a good number of Christians believed. These Christians would not have been deceived into equating canonization with sanctity. Around them there was no shortage of saints who, in the absence of any papal certification, were nonetheless visibly receiving the honors of veneration. If they thought about such things, the bulk of ordinary Christians might have disagreed with the followers of Wycliffe, notably William White (burnt at Norwich, 1428), who argued that the human judges of sanctity were unreliable and that nowadays sinners stood a better chance of being canonized than true saints.²⁹⁰ Yet people whose candidate's cause had been arrested through their lack of funds, the troubles of the Great Schism, or the objections of conciliarists to new saints, might

have wondered why canonization by the pope, if it was such an excellently designed instrument for arriving at the truth, should be so infrequently employed.²⁹¹

In Table F, Delooz's statistics on saints who died between 1200-1500 are arranged according to the death-date of the saint, not his canonization or cult confirmation date (if indeed the saint could claim either). Now, from what has been said, it is clear that Delooz's statistics must be approached cautiously, and that especially his second grouping of saints will need to be corrected and revised by future demographers of sanctity.

Nevertheless, the pattern of Delooz's statistics corresponds quite well to what one might have expected. In the fourteenth century, secular society faced a severe crisis of famine, war, plague, economic depression, social disturbances, and, most pertinent of all, a fall in population which the fifteenth century failed to make good. If one takes an estimated one-third as a rough measure of post-plague population decline in the latter half of the fourteenth century and beyond, the saints seem to diminish at approximately the rate of the general populace. The correlation, however, is much less valid for the fifteenth century, where the number of recognized saints has declined 52.24% from the thirteenth century figure. Although there seem to be fewer saints about in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than in the thirteenth, the overall population has so shrunk that one could reasonably maintain that the saints have lost relatively little ground.²⁹²

When Delooz correlates the saints of 1200-1500 with their countries of origin, the results are in some ways predictable and in some ways surprising (cf. Table G). Once again the predominance of the statistically least reliable class, his second grouping, ought not to be forgotten.

Table G

Saints of 1200-1500 from Groups One and Two arranged
according to Selected Countries of Origin,
Adapted from Delooz.²⁹³

	<u>13th Century</u>	<u>14th Century</u>	<u>15th Century</u>
Italy	137	124	89
France	38	21	13
Germany	22	9	5
England	<u>10</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>
	207	157	108

For the thirteenth century, Italian saints represent 45.51% of the overall total of Delooz's first and second groupings; for the fourteenth century 65.96%; and for the fifteenth century 66.42%. Although in absolute terms the number of saints decreases from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth, the Italian percentage of these saints rises 20.91%. Indeed if we were to consider the country where a saint died as being more significant to his cult than where he was born, Italy's lead would probably be slightly higher, for on the whole Italy gained from the migration of saints.²⁹⁴ The usual presence of papal court, pilgrimages and Roman Jubilees

naturally proved attractive to the religious élite of Europe.

By now the Italian phenomenon is a standard crux for hagiodemographers. Delooz emphasizes perception and says that the Italians were historically and culturally "programed" to perceive saints.²⁹⁵ The history of the cult of saints in Italy, when it is written, would undoubtedly show that veneration for the Roman martyrs and the Italian apostolic bishops continued to be influential. Veneration for local saints, as Professor Hay has said, served local needs and strengthened local ties.²⁹⁶ Here it is important to place the cult of saints in the context of Italian urbanism, and of Italian guilds and confraternities. Moreover, we cannot discount the intensity of religious activity in Italy, and especially of religious innovation. New orders and their tertiaries produced new saints. New saints popularized and publicized sanctity. The later medieval popularization of the cult of the saints seems to have taken place in Italy with considerable thoroughness (e.g. the Legenda aurea, the impact of saints' names, etc.).

But explanations have a way of concealing problems, and Delooz's statistics are not wholly predictable. The thirteenth century sees the advent of the friars - the great founders of orders, their disciples, and their local adherents. Hence the thirteenth century efflorescence of sanctity, which the statistics for Italy in particular tend to substantiate, occasions no surprise. The Italian fourteenth century, on the contrary, is a time of plague and economic recession, with the papacy at Avignon or torn by the Schism, and with the Franciscans in disarray. Yet the reduction in Italian

saints amounts to only 9.49%, compared to a 60.98% decline for the rest of Europe. Still more puzzling are the fifteenth century data. A restored papacy is once again in Italy; after Lodi in 1454 there is relative peace; and the Observantine Reformation may be called a Franciscan re-birth. How, then, are we to account for a drop of 35.04% in the ranks of Italian saints from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth? Pastor was quite proud of fifteenth century Italian sanctity,²⁹⁷ although he did not hazard any comparisons with former times. Delooz wags his finger at the Renaissance.²⁹⁸ What is needed, and cannot be supplied here, is a closer look at who these Italian saints were, and where they came from.

Just as a century is not a uniform stretch of time, so a country (least of all Italy) is not a homogeneous patch of territory. Within Italy, the abundance of Sienese saints, as well as the honors the Sienese proudly lavished on them, have been repeatedly mentioned. What happens to the cult of saints and sanctity in fifteenth century Siena? As for Lombardy, the thirteenth century seems to have produced comparatively fewer saints than Tuscany.²⁹⁹ Why? Lombardy had its Humiliati; its people participated in the religious movements of 1233 and 1260. If sanctity and religious activity may be correlated, why should Lombardy, which supplied huge audiences for popular preachers, show fewer thirteenth century saints than Tuscany, Umbria, or the Marches?³⁰⁰ Brucker calculates that there were roughly a dozen saints and beati in fourteenth century Florence; the fifteenth century produced one saint and three beati in that city.³⁰¹

Italy is not alone in presenting some fascinating conundrums in the demography of sanctity.

Aber die Reformation kann nicht erklären, warum schon drei Jahrhunderte vorher die deutschen Heiligen so zurücktraten, und das trotz des Hochstandes der deutschen Mystik im Hoch-und Spät-Mittelalter.³⁰²

Nevertheless, if the Reformation cannot explain the apparent fall in medieval German saints, does that apparent fall help to explain the Reformation? Instead of seriously addressing this question, German hagio-demographers seem to be intent on swelling the ranks of their fellow countrymen by granting German passports to every Dutch, Swiss, or Bohemian saint they can locate.³⁰³ One would like to know if Delooz's second grouping of saints is accurate in regard to Germany. Furthermore, patterns of veneration in later medieval Germany could be examined systematically. The English statistics recall G.G. Coulton's lament:

Our Church life in general was perhaps the most respectable of all, yet few medieval Englishmen since the Conquest were canonized, and none at all after St. John of Bridlington, who died in 1379.³⁰⁴

Delooz credits the whole of Britain with only one fifteenth century saint, ~~It is hard to tell whom he means, since he lists a Henry under the death date of 1415 who may or may not be Henry VI (d.1471)~~ and Thomas de Walden (i.e. Thomas Netter from Saffron Walden in Essex, a Carmelite theologian, d.1430).³⁰⁵ ^{But what of Henry VI (d.1471)?} [^] Two are better than one, but undoubtedly there were others, local saints whose cults have disappeared from view, such as those previously cited. Of course there remains the possibility that the English hierarchy was less sympathetic to the veneration of local saints than their ecclesiastical counterparts abroad (in Italy, for instance?).

Here, too, much work has still to be done.

Although Gilbert de Moravia (Moray), Bishop of Caithness (d.1245) has been called the last medieval Scottish saint,³⁰⁶ there must have been several local cults in Scotland like that for Abbot Richard Grossius (Gross) of Cambuskenneth (d.1285) who was 'renowned for signs and miracles after his death' and besides whose tomb stood an offertory chest.³⁰⁷ Abbot Richard, had he been an Italian, would in all probability have made his way into a hagiographic dictionary, and from there have found a place in Delooz's statistical roll-call. He was not, and has not.

Demographers of the saints are interested not only in when and where sanctity was manifested, but also in what form it assumed. So, in addition to classifying saints by the eras and regions which produced them, one may usefully categorize them according to their type. The most commonly perceived types of sanctity have fluctuated historically, as confessors succeeded martyrs, and apostolic bishops, then founder-abbots, took on the aura of the desert ascetics of an earlier epoch.³⁰⁸ To admit that the normative types of Christian sanctity have evolved is no warrant for oversimplifying the evolutionary process. Since most periods contained several varieties of saint, and indeed each type could include sub-species (e.g. St.Thomas Becket as episcopal martyr), it is at best misleading to summarize vast expanses of time and say that the ascetic was the archetypal saint of Christian antiquity, the contemplative of the Middle Ages, and the saint of active charity of the modern era.³⁰⁹

For of course the liturgical and hagiographical tradition guaranteed that once a type of Christian sanctity had been recognized it would always remain hallowed and always remain capable of exerting new influence in a different age. Thus, for example, one may point to the continuing significance of the eremitical ideal in the theory and practice of sanctity from the days of the desert fathers to those of St. Nicholas von Flue (d.1487). St. Bernardino of Siena, a preacher and a member of a cenobitic order, had, at the age of twenty-one, set out to be a hermit, but failed.³¹⁰ Had he been reading the Vitae Patrum?

Despite this continuity in the Christian tradition of sanctity, it is possible, nevertheless, to signal the types of saints most characteristic of a given period and also to note the emergence of new kinds of saints as indicative of new religious values. Assigning types to saints is not as simple as it might appear to be. St. Margaret of Cortona (d.1297, can.1728) is often called the Mary Magdalene of the Franciscans, but to categorize her simply as a female penitent is inadequate. She was a tertiary; and so one must decide whether she should be classified with the religious or the laity. She was the recipient of spiritual graces, though, like many tertiaries, was actively involved in peace-making and repeatedly warned the Bishop of Arezzo, in whom diocese Cortona lay, to stop waging war. She tried to end the feuds in her city. In addition, she founded a hospital in Cortona and an association of mercy to serve the sick.³¹¹ As penitent, tertiary, contemplative, peace-maker, founder, and female, St. Margaret of Cortona would require a range of categories for her kind of sanctity to be summarized,

or statistically tabulated.

Litanies group and rank the saints in relatively few, broad categories. Hagiographic literature, on the other hand, often seems to delight in multiplying the attributes of a saint, as if, by emphasizing a saint's many-sidedness, his claims to sanctity are correspondingly increased. Thus Philippe de Mézières calls his beloved St. Peter Thomas patriarcha, pater, propheta, vere apostolus Dei, martyr Dei, confessor gloriosissimus, doctor sacrae scripturae, praedicator crucis.³¹² Since Peter Thomas was a papal diplomat and archbishop, crusader and Carmelite, to do justice to the forms his sanctity took, his individual attributes would each have to be assessed and then tabulated on a vast statistical chart of later medieval saint-types. Some problems would first have to be settled. What are the distinguishing features of a later medieval propheta? Can a saint be both martyr and confessor? When issues such as these have been decided, and one is able to consider a group of saints who fall under a clearly defined rubric - say the papal saints of the later Middle Ages (Gregory X, Innocent V, Celestine V, Benedict XI, and Urban V),³¹³ then it will be possible to trace the meaning of this specific kind of sanctity against an actual historical backcloth.

To date, meaningful studies along these lines have not progressed very far. Ludwig Hertling, in 1928, published a brief article ("Statistisches zur Geschichte des Heiligentypus") in which he gave cursory attention to martyrs, confessors, bishops, princes, religious, and females among the canonized saints.³¹⁴

The same author made some further observations in 1953, writing in the Dictionnaire de Spiritualité. He noted that through the centuries the number of canonized bishops declines; that lay saints have never been plentiful (but he did include the Franciscan tertiary St. Elizabeth of Hungary in their company); and that the relative order strength of canonized religious stands in direct proportion to the strength and size of their respective orders in the Church as a whole.³¹⁵

Delooz makes an ambitious effort to show the statistical ascent or descent of various saint-types (females, bishops, martyrs, child and order saints, founders, lay saints), but somehow his results are disappointing to the historian. For example, Delooz discovers that the percentage of female saints in relation to male saints did not fluctuate a great deal in the later Middle Ages (total percentage of female saints in all four groupings: 13th century: 21.2%, 14th century: 26.1%, 15th century: 23.1%).³¹⁶ Although these relatively slight variations could be studied more closely, a historian might begin to wonder if female sanctity should not be approached with less emphasis on femininity per se and greater emphasis on the specific and concrete ways in which this sanctity was manifested and perceived.

Female sanctity as such was of course recognized in the Middle Ages.³¹⁷ The English Augustinian ~~and~~ friar Osbern Bokenham (d. c.1447) assembled his collection of thirteen Legendys of Hooly Wummen based upon this recognized category. But we should look deeper. Ten of his legends concern the classic type of female saint venerated

in the Western Church: the virgin-martyr (e.g. Saints Agnes, Lucy, Catherine of Alexandria, etc.). One legend is devoted to St. Mary Magdalene whom the Middle Ages saw as a penitent-ascetic. The remaining two legends give the collection its distinctly later medieval character. There is the life of St. Anne, matron, and the life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary (the only modern saint represented), widow.³¹⁸

Neither St. Anne nor St. Elizabeth were regarded as having removed themselves from the world. After St. Elizabeth's death, other pious women, probably following her example, became tertiaries, founded hospitals, and tended the sick.³¹⁹ Of canonized thirteenth century female saints, St. Elizabeth, widow and tertiary, and not St. Clare, virgin and foundress, represents a new development. The whole topic of widowhood and widow-saints should be pursued.³²⁰ Poverty has received very great attention, and justly so, in the idea of sanctity of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Yet St. Francis was also an exponent of a related ideal which certainly came to have an impact in the world and which demands more attention than it has received: the ideal of service, especially to the sick. An ideal of service was, of course, independently alive outside Umbria, and women contributed to it. Before Mary of Oignies (d. 1213) separated herself from her husband and moved into a cell at an Augustinian priory, she served with him at the leper colony of Willibrourx, near Nivelles.³²¹

The related themes of service, widowhood or marriage, and tertiary affiliation in later medieval female sanctity might be

well worth investigating. If we add St.Catherine of Siena to Ganay's list of Dominican beatae, we arrive at a total of twenty-one female Dominican saints from Bl.Joan of Aza (d.1190), the mother of St.Dominic, to Bl.Osanna Andreasi (d.1505), who had considerable influence with the Gonzaga of Mantua. Of these twenty-one female saints, six were either widows or matrons, and eleven were tertiaries.³²² This roster of later medieval Dominican beatae seems to locate female sanctity fairly close to the burdens and tasks of the world, and particularly towards the urban environment. Yet many of these saints maintained a religious life in which visions, spiritual graces, and ecstatic contemplation figured prominently.

This same pattern of matronhood or widowhood, active charitable service, and mystical experience may be seen in the life of St.Francesca Romana (Francesca Bussa dei Ponziani, founder of a community of Benedictine oblates, d.1440).³²³ More pronouncedly still, the career of St.Catherine of Genoa (Caterinetta Fiesca Adorna, d.1510), neither a religious nor tertiary, wife, nurse, hospital matron, and mystic,³²⁴ symbolizes, perhaps exaggerates, a spiritual tendency to sanctity in the world, with which Delaruelle identifies Joan of Arc.³²⁵

The demography of sanctity opens new and interesting possibilities for future results. Wholly reliable statistics about saints and popular cults have still to be gathered. Once obtained, these statistics may shed light on specific historical problems, if historically informed questions are put to them. When this has

been done, it will be possible to test several provocative theories which for the present can only stimulate thought, not be made to yield empirical conclusions. To what extent is it correct to say that the saint "incarnates and pushes to the extreme, the tendencies of a milieu"?³²⁶ Is recognized sanctity an adequate indicator of the relative religious energies of countries, sectors of society, or ecclesiastical institutions?³²⁷ If, among national churches, religious orders, or lay societies, ideals of sanctity differed, were not different types of saints pre-selected in conformity with such ideals?³²⁸

The Later Medieval Saints: Veneration.

Where learning was valued, learned saints were venerated, and, perhaps, the learned stood the best chance of being perceived as saints. Brother Dominic dei Pescioli, the confessor of the Dominican beata Clare Gambacorta (d.1419), reminded his charge never to neglect her studies. 'In our order,' he said, 'very few people have become saints who at the same time have not been learned.'³²⁹ Archetypically the Christian intellectual, St.Thomas Aquinas was seen by his biographer Bernard Gui primarily as a "holy teacher" who was known and praised for his learning throughout Christendom, but, at the same time, was singularly free of academic superbia.³³⁰

In the Golden Legend of Caxton,

St Thomas Aquinas, of the order of the friars preachers, was a right sovereign doctor, high and of noble lineage... He made marvellous books... in so much that the holy Church throughout all the world of his holy science is replenished.³³¹

For the Franciscan chronicler Salimbene, churchmen worthy of praise were both learned and holy.³³² Had he met him, Salimbene would thus have greatly admired Yves H  lory, whose vita portrays him as possessing all the qualities of a model cleric, piety and letters; while still a youth

much of his time he employed to study busily the holy letters, and read much curiously... and... by process of time was adorned of right great wisdom and renowned... both in right civil and in canon law, and also in theology... He visited the sick folk without difference ... and oft-times as he celebrated his mass plenty of tears fell from his eyes...³³³

Even in his final sickness St.Yves continued to teach and to preach to those who were about him.³³⁴

St.Thomas Aquinas and St.Yves H  lory were both venerated at a time when intellectual excellence in the service of religion was highly regarded. The products of canon legal studies and the graduates of schools and universities had come to occupy many of the most eminent posts in the Church, including the papal chair. This conviction of the importance of Christian learning had its impact on the cult of old saints as well as on the creation of new ones. It was Boniface VIII who promoted the cult of Saints Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the Great as doctores ecclesiae, and in 1298 ordered that their feasts should everywhere be celebrated as doubles, a liturgical ruling to which contemporaries attached great significance.³³⁵ Frequently thereafter these saints are found grouped in images and cited in one breath on municipal holiday lists.³³⁶ Perhaps it is not coincidental that Ambrose and Augustine had been bishops, Gregory the Great a

pope, and Jerome came to be iconographically costumed in the red hat and gown of a cardinal.³³⁷ Gregory VII had, after all, advanced the cult of papal saints.³³⁸ Was Boniface VIII, himself distinguished for his learning, endeavoring to quicken devotion to learned ecclesiastics, particularly after the reign of his saintly but simple predecessor?

Learning, of course, was an accomplishment primarily tending to embellish a clerical model of sanctity. Since the Gregorian Reform, the Church had come to locate sanctity almost entirely in the ranks of the monastic or secular clergy.^{338a} St. Thomas Aquinas's theology of sanctity, for instance, tacitly subscribes to this clerical bias by identifying sanctity with the virtue of religion. That which was wholly dedicated to the service of God was ipso facto sanctified. Separated from the profane conditions of life, consecrated to the sacred rites of divine service,³³⁹ the religious was automatically divorced from the world in which the laity moved. To be sure, there were various ways in which laymen could approximate to this status — as hermits, pilgrims, crusaders, penitents, tertiaries, and so on — but always by adopting a quasi-consecration of their own. In general, the observation of Delaruelle is apt: in the later Middle Ages the laity were obliged to plagiarize monks in order to discover a spiritual program.³⁴⁰ Perhaps this is why Joinville must stress St. Louis's monastic virtues, making him a model of asceticism in the world as well as a paragon of Christian kingship, chivalry, and crusading martyrdom.³⁴¹

The inherent clerical reluctance to perceive sanctity in the world of the laity was reinforced by the scarcity of lay saints on the altars. The urban, non-noble laity must have found itself poorly served indeed whenever it sought its mirror image among the saints. The closest it could come before the later Middle Ages was the historical or legendary craft associations of some saints (e.g. St.Eligius as a metal-smith, St.Crispin and St.Crispinian as shoemakers),³⁴² and the involvement of past local bishops, who were both patron-saints and fellow citizens, in the vita activa. There is evidence that some churchmen tried to provide townsmen with models of Christian sanctity whose lives would offer resemblances or parallels to their own. Thus, in a sermon preached to the Pisan merchants of 1261, Archbishop Federico Visconti, accusing them of coldness, presented to them a somewhat unlikely patron saint:

... B.Franciscus fuit mercator et sanctificatus
in tempore nostro. O quanta spes bona debet esse
mercatoribus qui habent talem intercessorem apud
Deum!³⁴³

One might have thought that neither the founder of a begging-order, nor any sainted ex-businessman who had renounced profit — from St.Homobonus of Cremona (d.1197, can.1199), to Bl.Luchesius of Poggibonsi (d.1260), to Bl.John Colombini (d.1367) —³⁴⁴ would have inspired the emulation of many merchants.

Hence it is remarkable that, particularly in later medieval Italy, a new tradition of lay urban sanctity does emerge. In a breviary from Verona (c.1284), on the calendar for 13 November, there is a new and startling juxtaposition: 'S.Briccii (St.Brice:

d.444) ep. et conf. Et S.Homoboni conf. non sacerdotis'.³⁴⁵ If the cult of the servant girl St.Zita of Lucca (d.1272) was promoted by the noble family to whom she devoted sixty years of service,³⁴⁶ that of Bl.Novellone of Faenza (d.1280) was, from the early fourteenth century, fostered by the shoemakers of the city. It is not known whether the Bl.Novellone had once in fact been a shoemaker or whether the trade had simply been ascribed to him when he became the guild's local patron. In either case, it is clear that the shoemakers wanted a shoemaker saint who was also a fellow townsman. In St.Peter's church of Faenza, the shoemakers had an altar dedicated to their beatus.³⁴⁷

The Bl.Novellone, eleven times a pilgrim to Compostella, famous during his lifetime for his fasts, penitences, long prayers, flagellations, and solitary existence,³⁴⁸ shows how elusive the notion of lay sanctity is. Besides, as a Franciscan tertiary, ought he to be considered a layman? The canonical status of tertiaries could always excite controversy, and in the fourteenth century Jacopo de Fulchis argued that, in contrast to laymen, tertiaries had a regula and so must be considered ecclesiastical persons.³⁴⁹

The cult of Bl.Facio of Cremona (d.1272), another lay saint, was supported by an interesting conjunction of urban social groupings. The canons of the cathedral assiduously took note of his miracles, wrote his vita, and preserved his memory. Bl.Facio had, in their eyes, been a model of lay piety; he had prayed regularly in their church; and his charitable foundation was attached to the cathedral. That he should be buried within the precincts of the

church where he had confessed and communicated was regarded as proper. Even better, Facio appears not to have belonged to a third order: he fitted the anti-mendicant propaganda of the seculars. Moreover, Facio's colleagues the goldsmiths made him their patron saint. The members of his foundation, which was dedicated to charity and Guelf politics, naturally revered their founder, just as he himself had venerated his fellow-citizen the layman St. Homobonus, whom he had once represented at the foot of a cross which he had presented to the cathedral. He, like Bl. Novellone, had several times been a pilgrim to Santiago. During his life of active charity and labor, he had frequently exercised the gift of healing. His vita says of him: "Si non est canonizatus in Ecclesia militanti, scilicet sic infra, canonizatus est supra in Ecclesia triumphanti..."³⁵⁰

Evidently a tradition of venerating lay saints could develop in certain localities. Cremona had three, the last thirteenth century example being the Bl. Albert whom Salimbene had ridiculed.³⁵¹ A similar tradition had definitely been established at Siena.

A deceased goldsmith like Bl. Facio would probably not attract many admirers in a Carthusian house; equally, heroes of the vita contemplativa, monks and nuns, like the thirteenth century Cistercian saints and beati of Liège,³⁵² would be little known outside a monastic milieu, and, if known, would be uncommon choices as urban patrons. To an extent, therefore, a saint's type would determine his cult.

For kingdoms and dynasties, kings and princes were admirably well-suited to serve their former territories as celestial intercessors

"before the King of Majesty."³⁵³ The type of the royal saint is familiar to any student of the early Middle Ages.³⁵⁴ In the later Middle Ages, too, various rulers, often unhappy or unlucky ones, came to be venerated. Bl.Amadeus IX, Duke of Savoy (d.1472), an epileptic, enjoyed a popular cult in Savoy not long after his death.³⁵⁵ There was a popular cult in England for the murdered Edward II (d.1327)³⁵⁶ and for the murdered Henry VI (d.1471). Bl.Ludwig of Thuringia (d.1227) the dead crusader husband of St.Elizabeth; St.Louis of France (d.1270); and the unfortunate claimant for Brittany, Bl.Charles of Blois (killed fighting John de Montfort in 1364), whom Froissart called "a good, loyal, and valiant knight... sanctified by the grace of God, and venerated as Saint Charles"—³⁵⁷ by no means exhaust the list.

Saints of a national past continued to function in the national present. An early fifteenth century English preacher, employing a nautical metaphor to represent the realm, called the 'topcastel of this ship... the saints at rest in this kingdom, by whose alms, merits, and prayers she is time and again rescued from perils...'³⁵⁸ The monarchy had to utilize the power which the saints offered, and especially to promote those cults which would strengthen loyalty towards it (cf. St.Edmund, martyr, and St.Edward the Confessor in the Wilton Diptych), while simultaneously opposing the popular veneration of opponents of royal authority.³⁵⁹ So the political union of Scandinavia, beginning with the reign of Margaret of Denmark (1387-1412), sees the formation of a symbolic union of Scandinavian royal saints including St.Eric of Sweden (mart.1160), St.Olaf of Norway (mart.1030), and St.Canute of Denmark (mart.1036).³⁶⁰

Again, at the Spanish college of the University of Bologna in the fourteenth century the chaplains were required to celebrate the feast of beati Iachobi patroni Yspanorum.³⁶¹ Hence the Latin vita of St. Denis was turned into French prose probably by a monk of the royal abbey which had this same saint as its titular; in his prologue the translator proudly declares that

... missires sainz Denises fu chef et patrons de
France, et par lui furent noz anciens peres
entroduiz, et nos après, en la foi crestienne...³⁶²

And Joinville relates how St. Louis called on Saints Denis and Geneviève in his last hour.³⁶³

The Burgundians believed that St. Andrew had converted their original homeland, Scythia, and also that a former Burgundian monarch had managed to acquire the cross of St. Andrew which thus became their battle standard. Both stories, though without foundation, lay behind Burgundian veneration for their patron. Thus 'Notre-Dame Bourgogne' and 'Montjoie saint Andrieu' were heard as war-cries in the Burgundian struggle with Armagnac.³⁶³

Among Christian states patronage ties could bring political and diplomatic gains. The papacy never failed to assert the pre-eminence of the prince of the apostles, St. Peter. But the English delegates at the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle insisted that because their church had been founded by St. Joseph of Arimathea, venerated at Glastonbury, their nation ought to have precedence in seating over churches of later foundation like that of France or even Rome.³⁶⁵

Veneration could thus be based upon the collective identification of city, guild, religious association or territorial state with their respective patrons. In that these group loyalties mattered to individuals, collective cults must also have had a personal basis as well. The knight who prayed 'Saint George, bon chevalier...' ³⁶⁶ certainly saw no reason to distinguish between his individual need and his membership in the profession of arms. Nor is there any good reason for believing that symbolic loyalties between individuals and saints — such as those displayed by donors on images — were necessarily artificial.

Even if these ties were insignificant to the individual, they were acknowledged socially. Bokenham might dedicate his life of St.Elizabeth to Dame Elizabeth Vere and feel reasonably sure that the gesture would be appreciated. ³⁶⁷ Naturally, individuals could remain grateful for a miracle-cure or remain hopeful that one would eventually be granted. Then too, perhaps on a deeper or more religious level, saints, rightly or not, were sometimes associated with new devotions. The cult and the devotion (e.g. St.Dominic and the rosary, St.Simon Stock and the scapular, St.Bernardino and the Holy Name) were often propagated jointly and so both would be likely to enlist the sympathy of the pious.

Scattered and not yet assembled pieces of evidence indicate that the cult of saints did have a religious meaning in the lives of some individual Christians. Joan of Arc, however extraordinary her temperament and career may have been, nevertheless can be set against the spirituality of her day. The saints who came and spoke

to her, Catherine of Alexandria and Margaret, wore the costumes of their images in the church. Her St. Michael, occasionally wearing the full armor of God's warrior, was not only the angel of the Last Judgement but also the declared protector of the King of Bourges in his war against the invaders; his abbey Mont St.-Michel still defied the English.³⁶⁸ Aside from the special meaning they had for Joan, Catherine, Margaret, and Michael were among the most popular saints of the later Middle Ages (cf. Table C).

A book of hours which belonged to John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy (d. 1419), may very well contain personal allusions in the suffrages. These suffrages ("invocations composées d'une antienne, d'un verset et d'une oraison")³⁶⁹ were recited in honor of God or the saints. They multiply in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and are found in many books of hours, frequently addressed to plague saints, the Holy Helpers,^{and} other specialist patrons.³⁷⁰ St. Leonard is mentioned rather rarely in suffrages, but he does figure in the Duke of Burgundy's book of hours and there is even a miniature devoted to the same saint. Leroquais does not think it is too audacious to conclude that the prominence given here to St. Leonard, patron saint of captives, is a personal reference to John the Fearless's ten months of imprisonment, suffered at the hands of the sultan (1396-97).³⁷¹

Anyone interested in the veneration of the saints in the later Middle Ages would be foolish to neglect prayers. In the earliest sacramentaries no direct prayers are addressed to the saints; instead, God is petitioned to solicit the prayers of the saints

for the suppliant so that these saints might obtain God's pardon for him.³⁷² The Middle Ages abandons this cumbersome procedure.³⁷³

Although hymns were written throughout the Middle Ages, "the great body of office hymns of the medieval church was permanently established by 1100."³⁷⁴ New feasts, of course continued to demand new hymns; but for the later Middle Ages, new sequences perhaps grew at a faster rate.³⁷⁵ To attempt to establish patterns of veneration by utilizing statistical evidence from such noble anthologies as Chevalier's Repertorium Hymnologicum (6 vols., Louvain-Brussels, 1892-1921) or Blume and Dreves's Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi (55 vols., Leipzig, 1886-1922), a task which the present writer once innocently commenced, is foredoomed to failure. The learned editors of these massive works have usually not been able to discover when the vast bulk of medieval hymns were written — their estimates span centuries. Furthermore, it has not been possible for them to localize with any great precision the hymns which they have collected.³⁷⁶ Unfortunately, the time and labor involved prevented Leroquais from providing the initia of hymns found in the MSS. he catalogued.³⁷⁷

Fortunately, however, Jean Sonet's Répertoire d'incipit de prières en ancien français³⁷⁸ does permit a provisional statistical assessment of the veneration of saints in the vernacular prayers of the later medieval period. These vernacular prayers, in their range and quantity, show the popularization of medieval Christianity as impressively as images and woodcuts do. Like Jesus, the saint is frequently called "glorieux" or "doux". The incipits reveal a

dual conception of the saint. He is both 'friend of God' ("Amis de Dieu et amis especial de Jhesucrist, saint Jehan euvangeliste..." "Glorieux confés [confessor] saint Anthoine/ De Dieu especiaulx amis..." and 'advocate' ("... Veuille envers Dieu estre advocas/ Pour moy...").³⁷⁹ Sometimes saints are grouped in a prayer to combat a specific illness jointly.³⁸⁰ Prayers may be addressed to specialists; an "Oraison contre l'épidémie" to St. Sebastian, for example.³⁸¹ Many prayers indicate a good hagiographical knowledge.³⁸² The choice of saint or saints in a particular situation of need often hinges upon an experience shared with the petitioner, as this fifteenth century text, cited in its entirety, makes clear:

Quant la femme est au fort de son travail,
on doit dire sur elle les parolles qui
ensuivent:
Anne la prophete enfanta Samuel le prophete.
Saincte Elisabeth enfanta Saint Jehan
Baptiste. Saincte Anne enfanta la benoite
vierge Marie Mere de Dieu. La benoite
vierge Marie sans douleur et sans paine
enfanta le doulx benoist Jhesucrist sauveur
et rachetteur de tout le monde. Par les
sainctes prières de ceulx ci et de tous les
sains et saintes de paradis nostre Seigneur
veuillez delivre ceste creature. Amen.³⁸³

A quantitative look at Sonet's Répertoire demonstrates again what has been a recurring phenomenon: the weak showing made by the new saints of the later Middle Ages in the overall pattern of veneration during the period (cf. Table H). There may be some value in comparing the most popular saints of Tables C and H.

The growing strength of private devotional life, perhaps at the expense of the formal liturgy of the Church, has been noted as a feature of later medieval piety.³⁸⁴ The new accent on private

religious meditation, prayer at home, in oratories or family chapels drew to a large extent upon such aids to worship as vernacular books of hours containing precisely the sort of prayers surveyed in Table H. Now it is clear that if the Latin liturgy was to some extent losing its hold upon devout elements of the laity, the saints, so far as Table H may be cited in evidence, still retained a place in the vernacular spirituality of the age. But the enormous importance of the Latin liturgical tradition should not be minimized; the indebtedness of private, vernacular devotion to that tradition is plain, and, perhaps most important of all, the entire public religious life of the community of the faithful was regulated by the cycle of feasts enshrined in the diocesan liturgy.

Liturgically, the ordo or officia sanctorum — the 'sanctoral' or cycle of feasts devoted to the saints — developed considerably from about the eleventh century to the end of the thirteenth. Many scholars feel that this development tended to overbalance other parts of the office, most notably the 'temporal' or cycle of feasts pertaining to the cult of God.³⁸⁵ Such an imbalance was also perceived in the later Middle Ages, and it provoked a reaction from reformers like Gerson and Clémanges, who appear to have been worried that the saints were arrogating to themselves a disproportionate rôle in the public worship of the Church.³⁸⁶ That central rôle belonged to Christ. Perhaps the earliest warning sign of the new prominence of the saints came at the end of the twelfth century when Christ was displaced from his heretofore sacrosanct position at the trumeau of the main portals of romanesque churches. On the stone mullions below the tympanum of the doorway, important patron

saints like St. James of Compostella, or St. Stephen of Sens, or St. Loup of Naud, now stood at the entrance to their respective sanctuaries welcoming their flock, having assumed Christ's traditional place of honor.³⁸⁷ The later Middle Ages, which sees the immense popularity of the cult of saints, is also a period of resurgent Christocentrism. For churchmen this takes the form re-establishing the hierarchy of the divine cultus over that of the cultus sanctorum.

One morning, so the story goes, the Piovano Arlotto (d. 1484) went into the Augustinian church of Santo Spirito in Florence. There he noticed a woman devotedly sighing and praying before an image of that hero of the Augustinian Order St. Nicholas of Tolentino (d. 1305, can. 1446). The Piovano watched the woman for what may have been an hour commend herself to the saint by a hundred pious gestures ("a fare cento atti nello raccomandarsi"). Finally, the Piovano, unable to bear the scene any longer, seized hold of the woman, turned her round to face Christ on the crucifix, and challenged her religious priorities:

Non vedi tu matta che errore tu fai? Raccomandati
a costui che è il maestro e puotti meglio aiutare
che 'l discepolo.³⁸⁸

Earlier in the same century, St. Bernardino had instructed the faithful to go immediately to the high altar when entering a church and reverently adore there the body of Christ; then, and only then, was it permissible to offer devotions before the painted figures of the saints. God, however, must be served first.³⁸⁹

The Eucharistic aspect of this later medieval re-assertion of the liturgical primacy of Christ is apparent from St. Bernardino's

words. The impact of Eucharistic piety particularly upon English ecclesiastical design has been elucidated in a recent article.³⁹⁰ What happens is that the reredos comes to exclude the shrine of even so famous a saint as Thomas Becket from the religious heart of his church, the sanctuary. By 1400 at Winchester a huge reredos cuts off St. Swithun's shrine from the high altar and choir of his cathedral. Henceforth this shrine, hidden except from the east, no longer would dominate the nave. The saint and the laity would of course continue to meet, since access to the shrine was assured to layfolk by way of the ambulatory.

Such meetings involved the usual disturbances of religious tourism — noise and commotion — and perhaps partly for this reason the clergy wanted the saint and his profane admirers excluded. For now, the enclosed sanctuary, separated from the laity, the world, and even in a sense from the saint, was visibly preserved for the clergy and given over to the sacrament. No one can doubt the genuine Eucharistic piety of both priests and people. Yet, at the same time, there seems to be a hint of clerical self-exaltation in the Eucharistic cult that cannot be dismissed out of hand. After all, despite the great fame and income a saint's miracles brought to his church, these miracles were unmediated. Between the relics of the saint and the populace in search of cures, priests were unnecessary. In complete contrast, the daily miracle of the Eucharist was a tribute to the efficacy of holy orders and a reminder of the mediating authority of the priesthood. The cult of saints did not point so directly to the elevated status of the clergy. Towards the saints and their relics, clerics were obliged to be

guardians, preachers, teachers, and even dispensers of spiritual benefits like indulgences. But, for the Eucharistic cult of Christ, they were celebrants.

Were the anxieties which some churchmen obviously felt about the popularity of the cult of saints justified? Possibly Table H restores a sense of perspective. Here are the prayers layfolk themselves recited. Statistically, if these computations mean anything, invocations to the saints never came near to usurping the place of Christ in the piety of the faithful. Granted that the volume of prayers composed may be no measure of the number of prayers uttered. Still, the overwhelming display of Christocentric sentiment which these figures indicate seems to speak for itself. Furthermore, when one turns to contemporary critics of popular enthusiasm for the saints, one must be careful to locate just where the criticism lies. The Eucharistic devotion and Christocentric sentiment of Thomas à Kempis need no elaboration. Nevertheless, to à Kempis the veneration of saints like the remembrance of the Passion was religiously valid; so much so, that it was something which the devil labored to prevent.³⁹¹

Where à Kempis does contrast the popular habit of running to visit the shrines of saints with his own reverence for the sacramental Christ,³⁹² his disapproval is really aimed at pilgrimages, which he, along with others, regarded as a very dubious religious exercise,³⁹³ rather than against the cult of saints per se. To à Kempis, the supremacy of God over his saints is unquestionable;³⁹⁴ that he should take such pains to stress this point, however, might

indeed seem to imply that some misunderstanding about it existed. Because à Kempis is fundamentally concerned with the sanctification of his readers, he stresses the moral conduct and the humanity of the saints which should induce the pious to follow their example and attain the Kingdom of Heaven, where all would equally join in praise of God.³⁹⁵

The resurgent Christocentrism of the later Middle Ages was not the only challenge faced by the cult of saints. Devotion to Mary was intense. In some of its manifestations similar to the veneration of saints, the cult of the Virgin was basically sui generis. Table H permits one to gauge the strength of feeling involved.³⁹⁶ In the fifteenth century, the success of a prayer directed to the Holy Spirit announces a new challenge to the cult of saints and demonstrates the competitive side of veneration ("Igitur tibi soli primo et proprie, maxime et principaliter me committo...").³⁹⁷

Competition also might seem to have come from those shadowy protectors, the guardian angels. Prayers to guardian angels were certainly not new in the later medieval centuries. Wilmarl provides an 'oratio ad privatum angelum' belonging to the ninth century, and the other pre-thirteenth century prayers which he cites contain the same concepts as those encountered two hundred years later.³⁹⁸ Strictly speaking the cult of the guardian angels did not, in fact, compete with the cult of saints, since the respective duties of saints and angels were more or less distinct. Angels were protectors but not patrons; the operative word which recurs in prayers to them is custos.

TABLE H

Saints Addressed in Old French Vernacular Prayers

Tabulations from J. Soney, Répertoire d'incipit de priores en ancien français (Geneva, 1956)

Texts of a purely literary character, creeds, and commandments, have not been included in the tabulations. Prayers taken from books of hours may date from the sixteenth century, but could be survivals from an earlier period. Usually each prayer has been counted once, but prayers addressed to more than one saint or to God and a saint may have been entered under each of the corresponding rubrics. In every case the vocative, not the title, has determined the saint to whom the prayer is addressed. If no person or object is mentioned in the incipit, the prayer has been classed as unspecified. Prayers mentioning a large number of persons or objects have been classed as general. Prayers have been counted once regardless of the number of MS. copies of them which have been located. Allowance must be made for errors in calculations.

Prayers addressed to God, Jesus, the Trinity, Holy Spirit, Corpus Christi, the Holy Cross, etc.:	1105	(47.11%)
Prayers addressed to the Virgin Mary:	613	(25.67%)
Prayers addressed to the Angels:	21	(00.89%)
Prayers addressed to the Saints:	207	(8.67%)
Unspecified Prayers:	387	()
General Prayers:	58	
Total Prayers:	2388	

Individual Saints in Order of Times Invoked:

S. Sebastian -	21	S. Denis -	2	S. Lazarus -	1
S. Barbara -	15	S. Andrew -	2	S. Perpetus -	1
S. Catherine of Alexandria -	14	S. Helen -	2	S. Remaclus -	1
S. John the Evangelist -	13	S. Paul -	2	S. Blaise -	1
S. John the Baptist -	10	S. Stephen -	2	S. Julian -	1
S. Ann -	9	S. Menas -	2	S. Julian of Mans -	1
S. Margaret -	9	S. Quentin -	2	S. Geneviève -	1
S. Peter -	8	S. Augustine -	2	S. Catherine	
S. Mary Magdalene -	8	S. Gabriel -	2	of Siena	1
S. Michael -	7	S. Mammertus -	1	S. Peter Martyr	1
S. Nicholas -	7	S. Hildevert -	1	S. Yves -	1
S. Susanna -	5	S. Lawrence -	1	S. Louis of	
S. Christopher -	4	S. Leonard -	1	France -	1
S. Francis -	4	S. Humbert -	1	S. Clare -	1
S. Clement -	3	S. Hubert -	1	S. Bernardino -	1
S. James -	3	S. Maternus -	1	Four Doctors of	
S. Apollonia -	3	S. Symphorian -	1	The Church -	1
S. George -	3	S. Anschar -	1	Three Maries -	1
S. Roch -	3	S. Eutropius -	1	S. Sire (?) -	1
S. Avitus -	3	S. Lucy -	1	S. Gaond (?) -	1
S. Florentius -	2	S. Fiacre -	1	S. Guinefort (?) -	1
		S. Eligius -	1	S. René - (?) -	1

Both Latin and vernacular prayers to guardian angels express the same pious hope:

Custodi me fideliter, et ora pro me frequenter ad
deum, et defende me ab hoste maligno....³⁹⁹

Mon bon ange qui es commis
par pitié de Dieu souveraine
pou moy garder des ennemys
et de temptacion mondaine....⁴⁰⁰

Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel act more like saints than angels.

Michael especially should probably not be grouped with that class of guardian angels to which Table H assigns only a modest importance. Yet in this regard these statistics may be quite misleading. At least in the sermons of St. Bernardino, the angels appear to be God's special agents ('de divina protectione') and the care he pays to their cult makes them appear worthy of some respect.⁴⁰¹ Why did St. Catherine of Sweden (d.1381) adopt St. Sebastian as her guardian angel?⁴⁰² Does this mean that the line between flesh-and-blood saints and the more ethereal angelic presences was becoming a bit blurred?

According to St. Bernardino, it was one of the glories of St. Francis that "fama sanctitatis eius reboando illustravit universum orbem..."⁴⁰³ The universal diffusion of the saint's cult was thus a mark of his perfect sanctity. For the historian, however, the diffusion or migration of saint' cults is a major problem in its own right and may not be explained by correlating the sanctity of the saint with the geographical boundaries of his cult. Not only the geographical extent of a saint's cult, but also the rapidity of its diffusion, and the means and circumstances which encouraged it to migrate are worthy subjects for investigation.

Certainly, the cult of St.Thomas Becket (can.1173) spread throughout Christendom with extraordinary speed. In the Italian diocese of Marsico, there was a church dedicated to him by 1179.⁴⁰⁴ His passio may be found in a Spoleto legendary of the late twelfth century.⁴⁰⁵ His image appears at Monreale and Anagni within the same century.⁴⁰⁶ By the second half of the thirteenth century his cult had been welcomed into the south German calendars.⁴⁰⁷ To account for St.Thomas Becket's posthumous success it is not enough to refer to the ecclesiastical politics of the time. Plainly his exile, the drama of his martyrdom, the high personages involved, the emotive issues which precipitated the tragedy, and the fame of the later miracles — all aroused universal interest.⁴⁰⁸

The cult of the plague saint Roch (d.1378/79?) also diffused fairly quickly in the course of the fifteenth century. The evidence may be seen in a southern French confraternity dedication of 1413, a Savoyard chapel dedication of 1467, and a Venetian confraternal patronage of 1477.⁴⁰⁹ St.Roch's plague speciality naturally helped to make his cult successful and, in a way, self-generating.

For most saints, however, the absence of a sensational martyrdom or a new and promising plague speciality meant that some sort of promotion was necessary in order to publicize their fame and cult. The movement of relics, by theft, sale, or gift, was bound to assist in this, just as the circulation of a vita was sure to do.⁴¹⁰ The local clergy at a saint's shrine was ideally positioned to encourage their saint's veneration through as wide a territory as possible.⁴¹¹

But if these local clergy were also members of a great religious order whose houses had been established in the major centres of Europe, then their saint's advantages were enormous. Members of most orders felt duty bound to propagate the cult of a deceased brother who had worn their habit.⁴¹² Cults of the new later medieval saints were often entrusted to their appropriate religious family;⁴¹³ the Franciscans and Dominicans in particular had a wide distribution of convents, pervasive influence among the people, and intense devotion to their founders. Furthermore, the various orders could reach an agreement to support one another's more illustrious saints.⁴¹⁴ In 1269 the Franciscan chapter-general in Assisi introduced the name of the Dominican St. Peter Martyr into its calendar.⁴¹⁵ The Benedictine Congregation of St. Justina was reformed under Franciscan inspiration; hence the Franciscan's St. Clare was honored in their calendars with a festum commemorationis.⁴¹⁶ Yet even the orders may be used to demonstrate the time lag which could occur between a saint's death and his appearance on a calendar; the Carmelite prior-general St. Simon Stock (d. 1265), had to wait until the late fifteenth century before his name appeared on order martyrologies and calendars.⁴¹⁷

The papal role in advancing the cult of a favored saint could be significant. Nicholas IV (1288-92) was a former minister-general of the Franciscans, the first of his order to ascend the papal chair. When in 1290 he had the great mosaic in the apse of St. John Lateran remade, he proudly described himself in the dedicatory inscription as "filius beati Francisci" and he added to the representations of the Virgin and the apostles the images of Saints Francis and Anthony of Padua; in the ambulatory of the church, he placed an image of

St. Clare. On a MS. of Nicholas IV's missal calendar the names of Franciscan saints are conspicuous.⁴¹⁸ The feast of St. Clare was a red-letter day in the calendars of Roman churches until the very end of the thirteenth century, perhaps until the pontificate of Boniface VIII, when disagreement between the papacy and the mendicant orders resulted in a general coolness towards mendicant saints.⁴¹⁹ Papal disfavor could count as well.

Outside the city of Rome, papal support assisted a cult's migration, but neither guaranteed a saint's local reception nor necessarily determined the moment at which the cult would be received. The pope could influence the form a cult assumed (e.g. for St. Peter Martyr as a slain inquisitor) by supervising the composition of orations, offices, and the bull of canonization. This document became evermore detailed, more of a hagiographical précis, and so was important in defining the nature of the cult from the papal point of view. As a further inducement to veneration, the pope could attach indulgences to his bull. Papal bulls and letters to those who had sponsored the saint's canonization, would more or less indicate the geographical limits of the cult, as the papacy perceived it.—whether the cult was primarily intended for the dioceses of certain territories or for the entire Latin Church. The cult of St. Hedwig, for instance, was plainly meant to be adopted by German, Polish, and Bohemian dioceses.⁴²⁰

Yet papal canonization and papal advocacy could mean little in terms of an immediate insertion of the new office into a local breviary, and this is what mattered.⁴²¹ St. Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274,

can.1323) had had excellent ties with the University of Paris; but only after 1369, when his arm was sent to the Dominicans of the rue saint-Jacques, was his office incorporated in the majority of Parisian breviaries.⁴²² The Cluniacs adopted his feast in 1480; the Franciscans, Augustinians, and Carmelites did not adopt it.⁴²³ His feast does not appear in any of the MS. breviaries of Chartres, nor even in the 1482 printed breviary of that church; his cult was conspicuous by its absence elsewhere too.⁴²⁴ So the limitations of papal advocacy and the irregular, circumstantial, and fortuitous elements in the diffusion of a saint's cult cannot be forgotten.

In fact there were too many saints, old and new, for any church to aspire to venerate them all. Fundamentally, aside from the feasts whose observance canon law obliged, the choice of which saints to venerate was left to local churches.⁴²⁵ This latitude resulted in a heterogeneous pattern of new cult adoptions throughout Europe. Some dioceses and regions seem to have received new cults relatively quickly, and others slowly or not at all. Rome and some Italian dioceses, on the average, probably surpassed the rest of Europe in their overall willingness to receive new cults and in speed of cult adoption. That many of the most famous medieval saints were Italian and that the papacy, except for the Avignon period, performed its canonization ceremonies on Italian soil were assuredly not irrelevant either to this willingness or to this dispatch. It may be significant, however, that the most remarkable evidence for this speedy acceptance of foreign saints comes from the thirteenth century, perhaps underscoring the centrality of Rome in the Christendom of that age.

The name of St. Gilbert of Sempringham (4 Feb., can.1202) may be found on both a Neapolitan MS. calendar dated 1294-1310,⁴²⁶ and a fascinating thirteenth century painted wall calendar at the church of the Four Crowned Saints (Santi Quattro Coronati) in Rome. Besides St. Gilbert, this wall calendar includes St. William of York (8 Feb., can.1226), St. Lawrence of Dublin (14 Nov., can.1225), and St. Elizabeth of Hungary (19 Nov., can.1235).

Astonished by the presence of these foreign saints, Delehaye finds it hard to believe that they were actually commemorated liturgically at Santi Quattro Coronati, and so concludes that the calendar was, in part, artificial and non-liturgical.⁴²⁷ Yet this wall calendar certainly illustrates a great awareness of new alien saints and an urge to be up-to-date in its cults. A parallel hospitality towards foreign cults can be seen in a papal calendar of the late thirteenth century.⁴²⁸ To be sure, the presence of feasts of new, papally canonized saints in such a calendar hardly occasions surprise. Again, the influence of the French popes Urban IV and Clement IV probably explains the presence there of some older French cults.⁴²⁹

Instead of looking at the diffusion of saints' cults in regard to where they were welcomed,⁴³⁰ one may endeavor to trace the travels of individual saints whose cult propagators are easily identified. For S. Louis, wherever the Capetians or Valois held sway his name and sanctity would presumably be venerated. Dynastic loyalties and allegiance to France would help to assure the promotion of his cult. In Paris, his feast was probably adopted the same year he was

canonized, 1297.⁴³¹ Where his cult was not accepted is perhaps of greater interest. For example, his name is not mentioned in "any of the leading 'uses' of England."⁴³² There are other omissions, also, which might be connected with political as well as ecclesiastical history, for his feast is not included in the fourteenth or even fifteenth century breviaries of Cambrai, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Marseille, or Lyons.⁴³³

Liturgical indices of cult — appearances on calendars, insertions in litanies, offices and masses, and the like — are fundamental in tracing the European diffusion of the fama of individual saints. Research in this area is hindered, however, because the evidence is scattered, and the necessary catalogues of manuscripts often lack the hagiographic detail which Leroquais knew enough to provide. An index sanctorum would allow the geography of cult of particular saints to be traced through collected liturgical sources, or at least through as many individual items as could be localized. This is a problem. St. Bernardino (can. 1450) was evidently a well-travelled saint in the fifteenth century; his name is cited in sixty-one liturgical documents, mostly breviaries, catalogued by Leroquais.⁴³⁴ Twenty-three are Franciscan. Twenty items of the sixty-one have no provenance attached to them, and several of the identified ones remain rather unspecific (e.g. Flemish, Italian, Spanish). French manuscripts tend to outnumber all the rest, undoubtedly because these are collections of French library holdings. Yet, when one pursues ^{the cult of St. Vincent Ferrer} _{(can. 1455) through} these same liturgical sources (he is mentioned forty-one times), one does perceive certain differences immediately. As is fitting, here the Dominicans predominate, for St. Vincent is one of their own

(thirteen appearances in Dominican MSS.).⁴³⁵ Moreover, St. Vincent's geography of veneration, at least to judge from the eighteen somewhat localized items, seems to correspond reasonably well with the regions through which he made his evangelical journeys, his Spanish homeland, and his Breton burial place.

Much more research needs to be done in liturgical history before the pattern of cult diffusion in the later Middle Ages can be fully elucidated. The reception of new saints into diocesan calendars; the relative impact of 'uses' of near-national importance, like that of Sarum, which tended to encourage a degree of liturgical uniformity;⁴³⁶ the interaction of local liturgies with the Roman breviary and the Roman missal;⁴³⁷ when problems such as these have been more carefully studied, the migration of saints cults can be treated as an aspect of broader problems in European religious, cultural, and political history, especially illuminating the spread of ideas, the nature of cultural contact, and the changing currents of religious feeling.⁴³⁸

The bulk of later medieval cults had no option but to stay where they had originated. In the past, formerly obscure saints had sometimes secured a reputation through inclusion in a popular literary work like the Dialogues of Gregory the Great.⁴³⁹ In the later Middle Ages, abridged legendaries would perform the same function; but, as we have seen, comparatively few of the later medieval saints tended to be included, and those which were included in such popular anthologies as the Legenda aurea, for the most part, were already famous.

To compare the rough and ready statistics of Table F with the saints of later medieval calendars, cited in the previous chapter, is to realize that the majority of later medieval saints and blessed were local saints and nothing more. Yet this was not a new situation. From the very first, the cult of martyrs had been a local cult. The martyr was the hero and witness of a Christian community, and was buried among its members. Only gradually did the veneration of some of these martyrs, especially the Roman martyrs, outgrow their initially limited surroundings.⁴⁴⁰ With the coming of the confessors, the ascetics, bishops and abbots of Christendom, the missionaries and founders, the numerical proportion of local to universal saints did not change. By the tenth century, in any given religious center, there may have been more universal and regional saints venerated during the course of the liturgical year than strictly local saints, but for Christendom as a whole the total of local saints far outnumbered 'the saints of the canon of the Mass'.⁴⁴¹

Local saints were accessible to local people; after all, they had lived among them.⁴⁴² These "saints protecteurs d'un territoire, d'un village," therefore, "tiennent une place privilégiée dans la dévotion populaire."⁴⁴³ True, from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries "wurden viele Heilige dieser Periode wirklich international,"⁴⁴⁴ but were their cults? Beissel signals the new order saints — Bruno, Bernard, Norbert, Francis, and Dominic — yet the towering reputations they have acquired for historians must not affect our judgement about the facts of medieval veneration. In Durham, St. Cuthbert and in Padua, St. Anthony, O.F.M. undoubtedly counted for more. To judge

from Tables C and H, Saints Barbara and Catherine of Alexandria, John the Evangelist and Sebastian were the real international saints of the later Middle Ages.

Thus local and regional cults always co-existed with the veneration of great universal saints of the Latin Church. The new wave of thirteenth century mendicant sanctity did nothing to alter this fundamental pattern. To the old universal saints, the orders contributed a handful of new saints who also would come to enjoy a universal European fame. On the whole, however, the cults of their many saints and blessed conformed to the pre-established mode of local veneration.⁴⁴⁵ Indeed, for some later medieval religious orders like the Servites or Carmelites it is difficult to speak of a great popular impact at all, though each had their saints.⁴⁴⁶ What lends to the thirteenth century its sometimes exaggerated character of cosmopolitan sanctity is the new papal reservation of the right to canonize. Universal saints will henceforth be papally canonized saints; but in actual fact not a very high proportion of saints whom the pope canonized became, or were intended to become, universally venerated.

After the thirteenth century, the agencies which had functioned in circulating new cults were in some confusion and disarray. The Great Schism certainly undermined the universality symbolized by the papacy and the religious orders. Local liturgies and local cults assumed a new significance because of this.⁴⁴⁷ Undoubtedly there was a slowing down in the rate of cult adoptions which the fears of reformers and the decline in papal canonizations helped

to accentuate. Thus, for example, the fifteenth century saw no new cults being received into the Paris liturgy.⁴⁴⁸ Yet in the fifteenth century the cult of St. Roch was very widely disseminated; and along with some rather less well known saints, Nicholas of Tolentino, Bernardino and Catherine of Siena, Vincent Ferrer and Bonaventure were canonized. However excessive it would be to claim that these cults were formally adopted in the greater part of the diocesan liturgies of Western Christendom, it would, at the same time, be unfair and inaccurate to claim that these saints remained virtually unknown outside their respective centers of veneration. Altogether, the prudent verdict of the late canon Delaruelle seems wise and just — a slowing down but not a cessation in the travelling of cult.⁴⁴⁹ Meanwhile, throughout the Latin West, local saints and beati continued to receive the veneration of their fellow Christians.

The Church's attitude towards the veneration of saints was that of encouragement tempered with caution, the desire to utilize the devotion of the faithful and yet concern that such devotion might lead to impropriety. Popes and bishops continued to issue indulgences in favor of shrines and saints' days; they commissioned new offices,⁴⁵⁰ hymns, vitae, images; above all, after due deliberation, they continued to approve new saints or local beati, respectively, and therefore implicitly to subscribe to the old apologetic notion that the enduring sanctity of the Church was demonstrable in its saints.

This polemic of sanctity could be used to hammer heretics. The Franciscan Observantine James della Marca (d.1476), himself

canonized in 1726, does not hesitate to employ it against the

Fratricelli:

Moreover, in God's Church there are always holy men through whom God worketh many miracles ... even as now at this present time God hath raised twenty-three dead men through St. Bernardino...; so also of many other saints who have been since John XXII, but whom ye condemn together with the whole Church. And it is marvellous indeed that in the case of all heretics and schismatics, since they have withdrawn from the Church, God hath wrought no miracles among them...⁴⁵¹

Nevertheless, there was always anxiety that the veneration of saints might carry the uninformed, superstitious, or over enthusiastic believer beyond the bounds of decorum or orthodoxy. Church councils fulminated against the misuse of saints' days and the improper religious practices associated with them.⁴⁵²

Ignorance of theological limits in reverence towards the saints probably accounted for some abuses, as when a midwife baptized a child in the name of 'God and seynt Ione.'⁴⁵³ English preachers repeatedly warned from the pulpit that the honors paid to saints should not infringe upon the worship owed solely to God. The gibes of the Lollards were probably responsible, at least in part, for this clerical concern.⁴⁵⁴

There are also miscellaneous bits of evidence signifying mockery or disesteem. In 1511, Wynkyn de Worde published the Demaundes Joyous which contained the following 'demaunde':

Whiche ben the moost profytable sayntes in the chyrche? They that stonde in the glasse wyndowes for they kepe out the wynde for wastynge of the lyght.⁴⁵⁵

Mockery may have been historically constant, but there are also

signs of new values, perhaps detrimental to the old. The unknown author of the Manuale scholarium (1481) invents a conversation between the two youths Camillus and Bartoldus about the relative merits of the teachings of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas. It is important to realize that Albertus (beatified 1622, can.1931) symbolizes learning to them, not sanctity, while "St.Thomas is a saint." Camillus responds:

Certain it is, that there were many saints who excelled merely in their simplicity. If my guess is right, they attained their sanctity from devotion and fasting, abstinence, etc., while Master Albert achieved the name of great because of his excellence in science. Don't you see that fame based on philosophy is more illustrious?⁴⁵⁶

If the author is not disguising his real attitude by imitating the simplicity of these young scholars, then all the efforts of the Dominicans like Bernard Gui (not to mention both Albertus and Thomas) to fuse sanctity to learning in the ideal of their order has not prevented their disjunction here. What is more, the fama of science is held up as superior to the fama of sanctity.

"Omnes sancti et sancte Dei. intercedite [pro nobis]," was the last request to the saints in the early thirteenth century Roman litany for Lent.⁴⁵⁷ The saints were burdened with so many requests of this kind that, in fact, it was believed that newer saints, blessed with a lighter workload and hence greater leisure, showed a greater willingness to deal with the petitions of their clients. Besides, new saints had to provide miracles in order to tempt and win a clientele.⁴⁵⁸ After the first flush of their novelty had worn off, however, new saints must have found themselves at a disadvantage. Specialized patronages serving specific needs

were extremely well-established. With very few exceptions (like St. Roch), the new saints of the later Middle Ages did not advance into the privileged ranks of those specialists who were universally identified with their specialities. In an early sixteenth century German list, for example, all the saintly medical experts mentioned pre-date 1200 by many centuries.⁴⁵⁹ At least the new saints escaped the fear and loathing that resulted from being coupled to a malady (e.g. St. Anthony's evil, St. Martin's evil) and thus being popularly misunderstood to be the cause of it.⁴⁶⁰

As for territorial patronages, new saints rarely came to exercise sole authority except in unusual circumstances. Ordinarily, there was already a patron; and his cult, though at times it might be overshadowed, could not be made to disappear. Indeed, these older cults usually remained quite secure throughout the Middle Ages. The coming of St. Louis did not sentence St. Denis to oblivion;⁴⁶¹ nor did St. Francis expel St. Rufino from the cathedral of Assisi. In a number of Italian cities — Todi, Bologna, and Siena are instances — one, or perhaps two, new saints successfully assumed a place alongside the old patron or patrons in an equal or, more often, in a subsidiary rôle. For France, if municipal patrons fêted with mystères are any indication, new saints failed to make an impact. A new territorial patron could also be an old saint. For example, the relationship between St. George and England began with the Crusade of Richard the Lion-hearted and was cemented in the reign of Edward III.⁴⁶²

Occupational patronages of guilds and their confraternities, and for various sorts of human activities, provided numerous

opportunities for saints. Of the four patron saints of music — John the Baptist, Wilgefortis, Cecilia, and Job, none, according to standard hagiographic sources, had been musician themselves. St. Job's association with music developed from an apocryphal first century legend that describes him as a music lover and patron of musicians; but it is interesting that in the West Job's link with music had to wait until the fifteenth century to be recognized and represented in art.⁴⁶³

This shows that new patrons were still being selected — but possibly more often from the ranks of older saints who perhaps could be mythologized more easily. In a late sixteenth century list of occupational confraternities in seven dioceses of Languedoc,⁴⁶⁴ fifty-two patronage choices are named, forty-five of them being held by old saints. St. Joseph, mentioned once as patron of ~~carp~~
carpenters and coopers, and St. Ann, twice mentioned, once as patron of rope-makers and once as patron of coopers, are characteristically later medieval selections. Seven patronage choices are shared by four new saints — St. Roch (thrice mentioned as patron of masons: surely a pun on his name); St. Louis (once referred to as patron of surgeons and once as patron of weavers); St. Catherine of Siena (patron of the Albi confrérie of masons, roofers, paviors, bricklayers, etc.), and St. Bernardino of Siena (patron of the Fézenas confrérie of bleachers and fur glovemakers). Here, too, the new saints of later Middle Ages have not made much of an impact.

Historians of later medieval Christianity have frequently observed that the cult of saints was never more popular than on the eve of the Reformation.⁴⁶⁵ We have seen, however, that from

the fourteenth century onwards there were signs of opposition to various manifestations of the cult of saints from critics, reformers, satirists, and humanists. Theologically, the cult of saints was secure except for the minority dissent of some heretics, although sentiments of Eucharistic Christocentrism made some churchmen suspicious that the cult of saints was in danger of exceeding its proper limits. In the thirteenth century the cult of the humanity of Christ, of the Nativity and the Passion, became popularized.⁴⁶⁶ Thereafter, Jesus might be as humanly accessible as any saint.

Moreover, there were hints of internal weaknesses in the cult of saints. At the "Ende des Mittelalters der Himmel mit Heiligen und Seligen übervolkert war,"⁴⁶⁷ "the worship of the saints might seem to be endangered by their multiplicity, by their infinity."⁴⁶⁸ Inexorably the number of saints tended to rise, and not just because of newly recognized or canonized saints. Old saints were exhumed and given new tasks to perform, sometimes in competition with already selected patrons. Possibly the large numbers reduced the religious value of individual cults. Anyway, there does seem to be a tendency to group saints in joint cults and patronages, as if to compensate for declining individual potency. This inclination to form a pantheon assuredly has precedents before the year 1200. Yet during the later medieval period the inclination seems to become stronger. An 'oratio ad omnes sanctos quorum corpora in cantuariensi continentur ecclesia' contained in a MS. dating from around 1430 is cited by Gasquet and Bishop.⁴⁶⁹ In the oratio a total of twenty-four saints are invoked by name. St. Thomas Becket, the first to be invoked,⁴⁷⁰ is also the most recent saint included.

ilman argues perceptively that the dangers of proliferation in the cult of saints were compensated for by the vitality and vigor of new arrivals for veneration. The cult of saints "was constantly renewing its youth by the elevation of more favorite and recent objects of adoration."⁴⁷¹ In North and Central Italy, such a renewal undoubtedly took place shortly before the rise of the mendicant orders.⁴⁷² New saints and beati were produced, but perhaps even more significant than this, the orders, and, as we have seen, the secular clergy encouraged their veneration together with that of the great saints of the past. Solimbene and Macchetti, from their differing points of view, equally deplored the cult of new local saints which seemed to devalue the veneration paid to the ancient Christian heroes or to the great founders of the new orders. Nevertheless, especially in Italy but also to an extent in some regions of northern Europe, the cult of saints had been revived both through the new popularization of the cult itself and through the massive infusion of new, contemporary saints, not all of whom, of course, had come out of the religious orders.⁴⁷³ Yet by every measure of popularity examined in this and in previous chapters, the most consistently appreciated and honored saints of the later Middle Ages were, on the whole, the apostles, the martyrs, virgin-martyrs, and early founder-bishops of Christendom — the old universal saints, to which a few new universals had been added.

Especially does this seem true of Germany in the early sixteenth century (cf. Table C, the discussion of saints' names, etc.). Altogether, the apparent paucity of indigenous fifteenth century German beati (cf. Table G), the fifteenth century slowing

down of new imported cults, if the example of Cologne is indicative, and the archaism shown in the German and Swiss calendars and relic lists that have been considered, point to one inescapable conclusion. The cult of saints in pre-Reformation Germany particularly emphasized the saints of the universal Christian past; much less than in Italy were new saints perceived or venerated there. One might, therefore, hazard the suggestion that the immense popularity of the cult of the saints in early sixteenth century Germany, and perhaps elsewhere in northern Europe, concealed certain defects and that, because of its archaism and lack of renewal, its vitality was in part deceptive.

1. Séjourné, loc.cit., Vol.XIV, cols.962-63;cf. col.949: it is not clear whether or not Amaury of Chartres objected to the cult of saints or to the use of incense in Christian worship. The standard histories of heresy say very little about the attitude of heretics towards the saints.
2. Cited from G.Brucker (ed.), The Society of Renaissance Florence (New York, 1971), p.257 (for the whole episode: pp.253-57).
3. T.S. Boase, Boniface VIII (London, 1933), p.116. H.C.Lea, A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages (New York, 1987), Vol.II, pp.240-41. Lea discusses the Waldensian rejection of saintly intercession: Vol.I, p.83, and Vol.II, p.150.
4. Ibid., Vol.II, p.242.
5. Ibid., Vol.III, p.92.
6. Mâle, Fin, p.185.
7. For many of these points I am indebted to VAUCHEZ.
8. DELOOZ also alludes to this, passim.
9. Cf. the thorough statement by Séjourné, loc.cit.; KEMP, pp.2-6: H.C.Lea, A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church (Philadelphia, 1896), Vol.I, pp.80, 105-6, 481.
10. G.Mollat, The Popes at Avignon, 1305-1378 (9th ed., transl.Love) (New York, 1965), pp.21-22;28.
11. X.Le Bachelet, "Benoit XII," in D.T.C., Vol.II (Paris, 1905), cols.657-69. Benedict XII's Benedictus Deus of 29 Jan.1336 (cited cols.657-58)says nothing about intercession. Cf. D.T.C., Vol.VIII, cols.639-40. The controversy is examined in detail by N.Valois, in the Histoire littéraire de la France, Vol.XXIV, pp.551-627, but the intercession of saints is nowhere mentioned.
12. Séjourné, loc.cit., Vol.XIV, cols.959-960
13. For St. Thomas, see I.Nicolai (ed.), Sancti Thomae Aquinatis . . . Commentaria in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi . . . (Paris, 1659), Vol.II, pp.688-89. For St.Bernardino, Opera, Vol.VII, (Cuaracchi/Florence, 1952), p.82: St.Bernardino's use of Olivi has been noticed by the editors. I have not attempted to discover if St.Bernardino has drawn from Thomas here through an intermediary like Olivi.
14. Nicolai, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.688-89: Liber Quartus, Distin.XLV, C.III, art.2, especially the solutio.
15. Owst, Literature and Pulpit, pp.126 (and ftnt.4) -29.
16. Aigrain, op.cit., pp.244-45.
17. These lives have been translated into English by J.P.Arthur under the title The Founders of the New Devotion (London, 1905).
18. Cited from the translation of J.McCann (Mentor Ed., New York, 1957), pp.150-51. Cf. C.Wolfsgruber (ed.), De imitatione Christi (Augsburg, 1989). Lib.III, Cap.LVIII, 2,4,5. But a Kempis himself is not entirely innocent of voicing the sort of opinion he deprecates:

Lib.IV, Cap.XVII, 3: "Et sicut beatus praecursor tuus, excellentissimus sanctorum, Ioannes Baptista..." The habit of making such judgments was too ingrained to be quickly dismissed.

19. See the discussion from the Epistolae (ed.Stokes, II, p.487) on the respective merits of St.Thomas and St.Dominic which is cited by R.F. Seybolt (transl.), The Manuale Scholarium (Cambridge, Mass., 1921), p.44, ftnt.6.
20. Cf. Séjourné, loc.cit., Vol.XIV, col.961. Nicolai, op.cit., Vol.II, p.689. Does this last point have any bearing on the rise of jointly invoked groupings of saints?
21. At the passage in the text placed in brackets here (Nicolai, op.cit., Vol.II, p.689) there is an editorial gloss indicating that although the words occur in the MS., there may be some doubt about their authenticity. In Séjourné's paraphrase, loc.cit., Vol.XIV, col.961, these ^{bracketed words} ~~brackets~~ are omitted.
22. Opera, Vol.VII, p.82-83.
23. Cf. Dictionnaire de Spiritualité (afterwards D.S.), Vol.I (Paris, 1937), "biographies spirituelles: antiquité chrétienne," col.1625ff.
24. D.S., Vol.I, col. 702.
25. D.S., Vol.I, col. 1626.
26. See Lanzoni, Genesi ...Leggende, pp.60-61.
27. Aigrain, op.cit., p.233.
28. J.de Ghellinck, L'Esser de la littérature latine au xii^e siècle, Vol.II (Brussels/Paris, 1946), p.179, cf. p.182.
29. E.g., Lawrence, op.cit.; Ancelet-Hustace, op.cit.; proper secular biography seems to provide the standard for most academic 'hagiographers' of today.
30. Delehaye, Cinq leçons, p.10.
31. de Gaiffier, "Hagiographie et Historiographie," loc.cit., p.156ff.
32. Cf. Roisin, op.cit., p.156
33. See L.Hertling, "Der mittelalterliche Heiligentypus nach den Tugendkatalogen," Zeitschrift für Ascese und Mystik, Vol.VIII (1933), pp.260-68, which, however, concentrates on the early medieval period.
34. Note the remarks of J. Leclercq, "L'Écriture sainte dans L'Hagiographie monastique du haut moyen âge," in La Bibbia nell'alto medioevo (Settimane di Studio, X) (Spoleto, 1963), p.111. Cf. the work of Delehaye, de Gaiffier, etc.
35. Roisin, op.cit., pp. 145-46.
36. Ibid., pp.124-25. For St.Elizabeth of Hungary, see Ancelet Hustace, op.cit., pp.124, 243.
37. Cf. J.Krajcar, "The Saints and History," American Ecclesiastical Review, Vol.CXLV (1961), pp.338-46; here, p.342.
38. Reber, op.cit., pp.143,145,148. Cf.de Gaiffier, Études critiques, pp.463-69. Mark of Lisbon (c.1556) without any factual basis makes St. Anthony of Padua descend from the family of Godfrey of Bauillon; Kervail, Evolution, p.51.

39. On the odor of sanctity and the saints credited with manifesting it, see: E.A.Stückelberg, "Der 'Geruch' der Heiligkeit," Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde, Vol.XXII (1919), pp.203-5, and E.Lohmeyer, "Vom göttlichen Wohlgeruch", Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Vol.X (1919), Abh. 1-14.
40. Lohmeyer, pp. 3-51
41. Ibid., p.52.
42. E.G.Atchley, A History of the Use of Incense in Divine Worship (Alouin Club Collections, XIII) (London, 1909), pp.xi-xii,ff.
43. Ibid., pp.67-116
44. Ibid., pp.108-9; Stückelberg, 'Geruch,' pp.203-4 and notes; Loomis, op.cit., pp.54, 171ff. (for information relevant to this entire paragraph).
45. Ancelet-Hustache, op.cit., pp.325-26.
46. Mallarde, loc.cit., pp.489-90.
47. Saintyves, op.cit., pp.304-5.
48. Foster, op.cit., pp.58, 97ff, 103.
49. M.-H. Vicaire, Saint Dominic and His Times (transl.Pond) (London, 1964), p.385.
50. Atchley, op.cit., pp.107-8.
51. See AB, Vol.LXXXV (1967), p.253. Cf. de Gaiffier, Études critiques, p. 476ff.
52. De Gaiffier, "Saints et légendiers de l'Ombrie," loc.cit., pp.254-55.
53. Idem. Études critiques, p.479
54. Cf. Delehaye, Cinq leçons, pp.38-40 on the hagiographic romance celebrating Bl.Ida of Toggenburg (Nov.3, ante-1410).
55. B. de Gaiffier, in AB, Vol.LXXXI (1963), pp.279-80 (cf.BHL 464-65).
56. A.Poncelet, in AB, Vol.XXVIII (1909), pp.125-29. Cf. de Gaiffier, Études critiques, pp.420-21, 422, 455, and fnnt.1.
57. G.Löw, "Canonizzazione," in Enciclopedia Cattolica, Vol.III, cols.569-607; here, col.576. I wish to thank Professor Hay for providing this reference.
58. Cf. Ghellinck, op.cit., pp.172, 178, 183, 188.
59. Roisin, op.cit., pp.135-37.
60. Aigrain, op.cit., p. 246.
61. See VAUCHEZ, pp.70-71.
62. Reber, op.cit., p. 63ff.
63. Cf. Brooke, "St.Dominic," loc.cit., pp.24, 39-40.
64. To a degree, this is true even of Gregory the Great's account of St.Benedict in his Dialogues. The Augustinians certainly made the foundation of their order a part of St.Augustine's cycle of images (cf.Chapter I).

65. For this topic and what follows concerning it, see VAUCHEZ, p.75ff.
66. A fine up-to-date overview of some of the issues in G.Philippart, "Les écrits des compagnons de S.François," AB, Vol.XC (1972), pp.143-66.
67. See J.R. Moorman, The Sources for the Life of St.Francis of Assisi (Manchester 1940), pp.65-66, 125-26. I have accepted the dates given in R.B.Brooke, Early Franciscan Government (Cambridge, 1959), pp.9, 15.
68. Moorman, pp.64ff., 121.
69. Ibid., pp.121ff., 127.
70. Ibid., pp.141-48.
71. Philippart, loc.cit., pp.153-54ff.
72. DS, Vol.I, cols.1662-78: "biographies spirituelles" for the 13th,14th,15th centuries.
73. Roisin, op.cit., pp.8ff., 249,275, follows Vernet on this point, loc.cit., Vol.I, col.1649. For many suggestions, I am indebted to Roisin's work.
74. Cf. Delaruelle, "Pietà popolare," loc.cit., p.529; also Vernet, loc.cit., col.1649.
75. R.Fawtier and L.Cantet, La Double expérience de Catherine Benincasa (Paris,1948), p.35ff. This work draws on the author's previously published, detailed studies on the hagiographic sources for the life of St.Catherine.
76. Ibid., pp.37-38.
77. Aigrain, op.cit., pp.126-28; 130.
78. Leroquais-Bréviaires, Vol.I, pp.xlxx-1.
79. Ibid.; cf. Aigrain, supra.
80. For an example of the latter, see de Gaiffier, "Saints et legendiers," loc.cit., pp. 249-50; cf. his comments, p.235, and ftnt.1.
81. A.Poncelet, "Le Légendier de Pierre Calo," in AB, Vol.XXIX (1910), pp.5-116; here, pp.9-10.
82. T.Wasowica, "Une Légende silésienne: sainte Hedwige dans la tradition littéraire et iconographique du xiii siècle," Mélanges René Crozet (Poitiers, 1966), Vol.II, pp.1073-78; for this reference, p.1074.
83. Poncelet, "Pierre Calo," loc.cit., p.14.
84. Ibid., p.14.
85. Cf. J.van der Straeten, in AB, Vol.LXXXVIII (1970), p.369.
86. For a more complete survey, see Poncelet, "Pierre Calo," supra, along with the chronological revisions of later scholars (noted by Aigrain, op.cit., p. 67, ftnt.1).

87. I regret that I have been unable to consult this legendary at first hand, and depend on the following works for a knowledge of its contents. Aigrain, op.cit., pp.67, 242. J.van der Straeten, in AB, Vol.LXX (1952), pp.428-31. Y.Renouard, in Revue historique, Vol.CCV (1951), pp.288-89.
88. Conflation of B.deGaiffier, AB, Vol.LXXII (1954), p.297 and J.van der Straeten, AB, Vol.XC (1972), p.413,ftnt.4.
89. Cf. de Gaiffier, "Les Héros," loc.cit., p.57.
90. See Graesse (3rd ed.), op.cit.
91. Tramontin, op.cit., pp.19-21. Aigrain, op.cit., pp.68,324.
92. Poncélet, "Pierre Calo," loc.cit.
93. Ibid., p.76, no.426
94. Tramontin, op.cit., p.21. de Gaiffier, "les Héros," loc.cit., p.59, ftnts.1-7. Also, Aigrain, op.cit., p.325.
95. Petrus de Natalibus, Catalogus sanctorum (Vicenza, 1493).
96. Cf. Aigrain, op.cit., p.325. Boninus Mombritius, Vitae sanctorum (Milan, n.d.)(Hain no.11544: c.1479), 2 Vols.
97. Edinburgh University Library, Inc.16. The colophon reads: Viola sanctorum finit feliciter. Anno dñi 1487. x.Kall. Septēbris Argentinē impressum per Jōhannem Pruss.
98. Jacobus de Voragine, Liber sanctorum ac festorum per totum annum (Venice, Manfredus de Bonellis de Monteferrato, 1493).
99. Cf. Aigrain, op.cit., pp.68, 325.
100. (Anon. Bollandist,) "De codicibus hagiographicis Iohannis Gielemans," in AB, Vol.XIV (1895), pp.5-88; here note esp. pp.12-13.
101. Ibid., p.12.
102. Ibid., p.66, nos.33, 34.
103. Ibid., p.62, no.6.
104. See J.C. Russell, "The Canonization of Opposition to the King in Angevin England," Haskins Anniversary Essays (Boston/New York, 1929), pp. 279-290; here, pp.283-84 for particular mention of these three figures.
105. "De codicibus," loc.cit., p. 63, no.16.
106. Attwater, op.cit., p. 167.
107. "De codicibus," loc. cit., p.42ff. In tabulating the number of saints in the Novale sanctorum, I have only counted the saints individually named in the titles to each item.
108. Wormald, loc.cit., p. 249.
109. Aigrain, op.cit., pp.324-25. White, loc.cit., p.105. G.H.Gerould, Saints' Legends (Boston/New York, 1916), pp.197-98.
110. C. Horstman (ed.), Nova Legenda Anglie, 2 Vols., (Oxford, 1901); Vol.I, p.9.

111. Ibid., Vol.I, pp.xxiii-ix
112. Ibid., Vol.I, pp.9-12. Cf.pp.xxviii-ix
113. For indulgences granted to those who visited the tomb of Hales, see KEMP, p.123. Also, P.Grosjean, "Thomas de la Hale, moine et martyr à Douvres en 1295," AB, Vol.LXXII(1954), pp.167-91; indulgence: p.181.
114. Horstman, op.cit., Vol.I, p.xxix. Cf.Cross, op.cit., p.1173.
115. Brooke, "Religious Sentiment," loc.cit., p.24: "the reaction (against native English cults) was probably quite short-lived."
116. Harris, op.cit., p.21 and references. Gasquet and Bishop, op.cit., p.27ff.
117. Cf. Forbes, op.cit., pp.xxi-xxiv.
118. Rodgers, op.cit., p.86 discusses his attitude to hagiography,
119. P. Lehmann, Die Parodie im Mittelalter (Munich, 1922), pp.240-41.
120. P. Meyer, "Légendes hagiographiques en français," Histoire littéraire de la France, Vol.XXXIII (Paris 1906), pp.328-458; here, pp.334-35.
121. Origo, op.cit., pp.271-72
122. On BL.Colombini and the Jesuates, see the article by G.Dufner, in DS, Vol.VIII (Paris, 1972), cols.392-404. The incident may be read in an English translation of F.Belcari's fifteenth century biography of Colombini (London, 1874).
123. Cf. Meiss, op.cit., p.86ff, and the DS article, supra.
124. Cf. the DS article on Colombini, and Kaftal-Tuscan, p.xxiii, and fnnt.12.
125. DS, Vol.II, cols.373-74 on Cavalca.
126. AB, Vol.LXIV (1946), p.311.
127. See GG.Meersseman, "Chiesa e 'orde laicorum' nel sec.xi," in Chiesa e riforma nella spiritualità del sec.xi (Convegni del Centro di Studi sulla spiritualità medievale, VI) (Todi, 1968), p.69 (pp.39-74 for whole essay).
128. Note Chélini, op.cit., pp.466-67
129. H.Grundmann, "Hérésies savantes et hérésies populaires," pp.209-214 of J.Le Goff (ed.), Hérésies et Sociétés (Paris/The Hague, 1968), p. 211.
130. Cf. de Gaiffier, Études critiques, pp.497-98. Also E.Delaruelle, "La culture religieuse des laïcs en France aux xi^e et xii^e siècles," pp.548-81 of I Laici nella 'Societas Christiana' dei Secoli XI e XII (Milan, 1968), pp.563-65.
131. S.C.Aston, "The Saint in Medieval Literature," The Modern Language Review, Vol.LXV (1970), pp.xxv-xlii; on this point, p.xxxiii.
132. For what follows, the best guide is still Meyer, loc.cit., p.330ff.

133. M.D.Legge, Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background (Oxford, 1963), p.268
134. Ibid., pp.271-72
135. I have counted these as new lives.
136. I cannot claim to have rectified all these errors. Meyer, for instance, believes that a fourteenth century verse life is in honor of St. Anthony of Padua when it actually has as its subject St. Anthony of Viennois (i.e. St. Anthony Abbot). Cf. D.C. Cabeen (ed.), A Critical Bibliography of French Literature Vol. I (Menasha, Wis., 1947), p.16. Aston, loc.cit., says that there is still a percentage of unedited lives and that Meyer is still a basic source, p.xxvii. On omissions, Legge, op.cit., fills in some gaps.
137. Meyer, loc.cit., pp.332-78
138. Ibid., pp.335, 378.
139. Ibid., pp.379-457 (French translations of Voragine and other Latin abridged legendaries presumably included at least some of their modern saints. According to Meyer, John of Mailly's Abbreviatio included a Latin life of St. Francis which the French translation of the legendary excluded: p.454.)
140. See W.M. Metcalfe (ed.), Legends of the Saints in the Scottish Dialect of the Fourteenth Century (The Scottish Text Society), 3 Vols., (Edinburgh/London, 1896). This legendary, of which the Legenda aurea is the chief source, contains only old-universal saints with the exception of two Scottish saints - St. Machar (6th century; venerated as first bishop of Aberdeen) and St. Ninian (d.432?); these two saints may also be the most modern of the collection. In The South English Legendary (Early English Text Society, 235, 236, 244), edited by C.D. Evelyn and A.J. Mill in 3 Vols., (London, 1956-59), out of ninety entries, St. Peter Martyr and St. Edmund Rich are the only modern saints represented.
141. Cf. G.G. Coulton, Europe's Apprenticeship: A Survey of Medieval Latin with Examples (London, 1940), pp.88-89.
142. DuHay, Europe: The Emergence of an Idea (Edinburgh, 1957), p.63, where the context is different, but not entirely so.
143. P. Kibre, The Library of Pico della Mirandola (New York, 1936) p.71 and fn.81.
144. White, loc.cit., pp.94-101. Milburn, op.cit., pp.xxxiii-iv. F.S. Ellis (ed.) The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton, 7 Vols., (London, 1900).
145. White, loc.cit., (pp.96-105; passim).
146. Cf. A. Levasti (ed.) Beato Jacopo da Voragine, Leggenda Aurea Volgarizzamento Toscano del Trecento, 3 Vols., (Florence, 1924-26).
147. One finds his name also given as Manèrbi and Malèrbi.
148. Tramontin, op.cit., pp.22-23. Nic. Manèrbi, Jacobus de Voragine Legenda aurea sanctorum italice versione (Venice, c.1475), folio.
149. Kibre, op.cit., pp. 172, (item 385), 253 (item 1002), 281 (1360), 282 (1390), 283 (1396, 1399, 1415), 284 (1433, 1437). Cf. also pp.63-64, 71, 152-53.

150. C. Trinkaus, "Humanist Treatises on the Status of the Religious: Petrarch, Salutati, Valla," "Studies in the Renaissance", Vol. XI (1964), pp. 7-45; note pp. 17, and ftnt. 40; 24 and ftnt. 61.
151. Bishop, Petrarch, p. 331. For Petrarch's devotion to St. Augustine, p. 192ff; for his Laura as a celestial patron saint, p. 291. Trinkaus, supra, cites a reference of Petrarch to St. Francis, p. 17 and ftnt. 40.
152. Cited by Rodgers, op.cit., p. 86 and ftnt. 39.
153. Vespasiano da Bisticci, Lives of Illustrious Men of the Fifteenth Century (transl. by W. and E. Waters) (Harper Torchbook ed.: Renaissance Princes, Popes and Prelates) (New York, 1963), pp. 179-80.
154. Pastor, op.cit., Vol. II, p. 206-7 with footnotes.
155. Ibid., p. 207.
156. Attwater, op.cit., p. 250.
157. See J. Gadol, Leon Battista Alberti (Chicago/London, 1969) p. 5. C. Grayson, "Alberti, L.B.," in Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (henceforward DBI), Vol. I, (Rome, 1960), p. 704.
158. C. Trinkaus, In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought (London, 1970), Vol. II, p. 843, ftnt. 100. Cf., p. 648.
159. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 616.
160. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 648, 843-44, ftnts. 100, 103.
161. See B. de Gaiffier, in AB, Vol. LXIII (1945), pp. 276-77.
162. P. O. Kristeller, Renaissance Thought II (New York, 1965), p. 72, ftnt. 3.
163. B. de Gaiffier, in AB, Vol. LXXXI (1963), p. 281-82.
164. H. Baron, The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance (Princeton, 1955), Vol. I, p. 272ff.
165. Trinkaus, Image and Likeness, pp. 299, 446, ftnt. 23.
166. Pastor, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 39.
167. Bailey, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 186.
168. Kristeller, "Lay Religious Traditions," loc.cit., p. 112.
169. Seznek, op.cit., p. 98, ftnt. 69.
170. Ibid., p. 212.
171. Cf. Vespasiano, op.cit., p. 11.
172. T. H. Hollingsworth, Historical Demography (London, 1969) is a good, recent introduction to the subject. For later medieval Italy, the work of David Herlihy, inter-relating demographic and social history, is exemplary.
173. Rapp, op.cit., p. 161.
174. Cf. Delaruelle, "Spirit. aux xiv^e et xv^e siecles," loc.cit., p. 70.
175. G. Le Bras, "Preface," to DELOOZ (Liege, 1969), p. 1.

176. Ibid., p.1.
177. Cf. J.F.Broderick, "A Census of the Saints (993-1955)," in The American Ecclesiastical Review, Vol.CXXXV (1956), pp.87-115; here, p.87.
178. Some suggestions in J.P.Neale, "The Biographical Approach to History," History, Vol.XXXVI (1951), pp.193-203; and L.B.Namier, "History: its Subject-Matter and Tasks" History Today, Vol.II(1952), pp.157-62.
179. See the review of Bibliotheca Sanctorum (afterwards Bib.Sanc.), Vol.I (Rome, 1961) by V.Coens in AB, Vol.LXXX (1962), pp.446-49.
180. Delehaye, Sanctus, p.134 gives a warning about the martyrologies of the orders.
181. Coens review, supra, p.447.
182. In AB, Vol.LXXVIII (1960), p.172. Delehaye, Sanctus, p.151, holds fast to these same sentiments: "Ce qui donne droit au titre de saint, c'est le culte public et nullement l'hommage restreint d'un petit groupe de fidèles." For the medieval period, however, strict insistence on a liturgical definition of cult is too narrow a criterion for the historian who is not a Bollandist. As KEMP says (pp.137-38), "In most of the cases where we know there to have been a cult of uncanonized persons it is extremely difficult to be at all sure what the liturgical practice was." It is impossible, as Kemp's sentence shows, to restrict the many manifestations of cult to a purely liturgical definition; the notion of cult is always tending to become veneration in its widest sense. Otherwise, how could one speak of "a cult of uncanonized persons" while lacking any knowledge of liturgical practice? E.W.Kemp, "The Attempted Canonization of Robert Grosseteste," in D.Callus, ed., Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop (Oxford, 1955), p.246, refers to the liturgical commemoration of the uncanonized bishop as being "a compromise between law and devotion which has its parallels elsewhere." A historian can accept the ambiguity of such evidence without sitting in judgement over whether or not it formally constitutes cult, as defined liturgically.
183. Coulton, Five Centuries, Vol.II (Cambridge, 1927), p.76.
184. Idem., Medieval Village, pp.241, 526-27.
185. Sorokin, op.cit., p.179.
186. Ibid., p.156.
187. Ibid., pp.156, 166.
188. Ibid., pp.94, 97, 98.
189. Ibid., pp. 169-71; 173.
190. Ibid., p. 133.
191. K. and C.H. George, in The Journal of Religion, Vol.XXXV (1955), pp.85-98. Cf. ftnt. 3, pp.97-98.
192. Ibid., p.93ff.

193. Ibid., p.37
194. Broderick, loc.cit., p.39.
195. Ibid., p.90.
196. Ibid., pp.93-96.
197. This is a point which DELOOZ often considers.
198. Broderick, loc.cit., p.109 and ftnt.15. Cf. Sorokin, op.cit., pp.101-104; 240-41.
199. Hay, Italian Renaissance, p.48 (ftnt.1, reference to Mas-Latrie); Hay, Europe, p.62-63; D.Hay, Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (New York, 1966) p.316 (ftnt.1, reference to Mas Latrie and Pastor). I have tried to present a synopsis of ideas in these cited works on the demography of sanctity.
200. Idem., Italian Renaissance, p.48
201. Ibid., p.49
202. Le Bras, loc.cit., p.3: "Peu de thèses ont une résonance aussi profonde et méritent mieux la plus haute distinction."
203. DELOOZ, p.4.
204. Ibid., p.17, passim.
205. Ibid., p.108. For the medieval period, there is always the danger that sharp distinctions of this kind impose definitions where (as with saints and beati) they were only dimly perceived by most contemporaries.
206. Ibid., pp.109-110 and the respective annexes where the saints are listed by each grouping. I have necessarily somewhat simplified DELOOZ'S classification scheme in the interests of a rapid presentation; for example, eight saints in his first group were canonized equipollently after 1634 - the latest being St. Margaret of Hungary (d.1270, can.equip. 1943. (Attwater, op.cit., p. 201 says 1946)). This form of canonization, like cult confirmation, more or less ratifies a medieval perception.
207. Ibid., p. 110.
208. Ibid., p. 120
209. Ibid., p. 152ff. Cult confirmation, according to DELOOZ, dates from 1482.
210. Ibid., cf. p. 445.
211. In Table F, note that saints are listed by century of death, not canonization. Figures taken from Ibid., pp. 217 (first group); 221 (second); 225 (third); 229 (fourth). DELOOZ's own totals per century (p.235) do not agree with mine, since he does not add the two group four beati to his fifteenth century total. Overall total for number of saints is my own.
212. Ibid., pp.282-87
213. For the whole discussion on status, Ibid., pp.418-24.
214. Cf. C. de Greenwald, Saints of Russia (transl.Capel) (London, 1960), p.11.

215. Cf. the application of this principle with regard to the cult of saints in the pre-medieval Church as discussed in H. Leclercq, "Saint," in Dic.d'Archeol.Chret., Vol.XV.1 (1950), cols.406-7, passim.
216. On this see KEMP, pp.138, 140.
217. Low, loc.cit., col.592.
218. Ibid., col.592. Cf.KEMP, p.145.
219. Cf. Kemp, "Grosseteste," loc.cit., p.242.
220. On Paris's references to Roger Niger, see Lawrence, op.cit., p.174, ftnt.3, where Lawrence employs these references to support his contention that the word sanctus in the thirteenth century was not exclusively bestowed on the canonized. On Niger's heart burial and the indulgence (which seems to have been papal rather than episcopal), cf. P.Grosjean in AB, Vol.LIII (1934), pp.124-25. On Beeleigh Abbey, Knowles and Hadcock, op.cit., p.163.
221. Kemp, "Grosseteste," loc.cit., pp.243, 246.
222. Meyer, loc.cit., Vol.XXXIII, p.354, ftnt.2 and references there cited.
223. Cf. Coulton, Five Centuries, Vol III (1936), pp.628-29.
224. On Schorn, see Bond, op.cit., pp.196-98.
225. Schevill, op.cit., pp.254-55 and sources listed,
226. Lanzoni, Storia...Faentina, pp.414ff.
227. Attwater, op.cit., pp.252, 150.
228. Cited in Baron, op.cit., pp.278-79 of Vol.I; Latin sources and notes, Vol.II, pp.564-65. On da Fiano, Vol.I, p.272ff.
229. See DELOOZ, pp. 24, 43, 109; KEMP, pp.145-6; Naz, loc.cit., Vol.III, col.33. It is worth mentioning that there may be some valuable historical information in post-medieval causes (1650-1800) for later medieval saints. Cf. C.de Clercq, "Les Causes des serviteurs de Dieu," Revue de droit canonique, Vol.IV (1954) pp.76-100.
230. KEMP, pp.122-35 (England's share must be excluded from this judgement, ante.)
231. Opera Omnia, Vol.IX (1965), p.405.
232. Cf.Kaftal-Tuscan, p.xxxii. Lea, Inquisition, Vol.III, pp.92-93, paraphrasing the opinions of Zanghino Ugolini, maintains that "so long as a saint was uncanonized his cult was at the discretion of the bishop, who could at any time command its cessation."
233. Cox, op.cit., pp.244-46. R.H.Hilton, A Medieval Society (London, reprinted, 1967), p.264.
234. Baudet, op.cit., p.444. Attwater, op.cit., p.201.
235. KEMP, p.124.
236. Cited and discussed in Cheney, loc.cit., p.122 and ftnt.3.

237. Réau, op.cit., Vol.I (1955), p.369.
238. Leroquais, Bréviaires, Vol.I, p.xciii.
239. Kemp, "Pope Alexander III," loc.cit., pp.14, 16.
240. Lawrence, op.cit., p.10, but note ftnt.3.
250. Cf.Naz,loc.cit., Vol.III, col.12.
242. Löw, loc.cit., col.575.
243. This is perhaps the central theme of KEMP's book (cf.pp.2, 79).
244. VAUCHEZ and DELOOZ both appreciate the importance of this last papal aim.
245. Cf. Löw,loc.cit., cols.576-84.
246. Kemp, "Pope Alexander III," loc.cit., p.25.
247. H.Thurston, in Butler's Lives of the Saints, Vol.IV (1956), p.667 (Appendix II). Delehaye takes the same view, without qualification (Sanctus), and so does Broderick, loc.cit.,p.90.
248. Cf. Foster, op.cit., p.5 and notes.
249. Burlet, op.cit., p. 12.
250. Lawrence, op.cit., p.14-15, passim.
251. Cf. DELOOZ's list of papal canonizations, p.116ff.
252. Ibid.
253. DELARUELLE, p.789, ftnt.12.
254. A.G.Ferrers Howell, S.Bernardino of Siena (London, 1913), p.213.
255. Hefele, op.cit., p.93-94.
256. Pastor, op.cit., Vol.IV (1894), p.392 and ftnts.
257. Ancelet-Hustache, op.cit., pp.254-331; cf.376.
258. Bertaux, loc.cit., p.624.
259. Wasowicz, loc.cit., pp.1076-78
260. M.-H. Laurent, "Charles de Blois fut-il canonisé en 1376?" Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique, VolXLVI (1951), pp.182-86; the various forms of italics have been omitted.
261. KEMP, p.104.
262. Kemp, "Pope Alexander," loc.cit., pp. 16-17, and ftnts.
263. Idem. "Grosseteste," loc.cit., pp.244-46.
264. Cf. Reber, op.cit., pp.80-81.
265. DELOOZ, p.166.
266. Cited in Pastor, op.cit., Vol.III (1894), p.292.
267. Sorokin, op.cit., p.160.
268. Boase, op.cit., p. 174.

269. KEMP, p.139
270. DELOOZ, p.116ff. and Toynbee, op.cit., p.244 give six saints, but Löw, loc.cit., col.587 adds the canonization of Robert of Chaise-Dieu to the same saints listed by DELOOZ and Toynbee (DELOOZ probably lists Robert in the eleventh century). Incomplete or lapsed canonizations have not been considered here. Professor Hay was misled on this point: cf. Italian Renaissance, p.48.
271. Foster, op.cit., p.4ff, passim. On the canonization of St.Thomas and its relationship to Thomism and orthodoxy, see ibid., pp.4,5-7,79; Lechat in AB, Vol.XLIII (1925), pp.215-17 where the ideas of Mandonnet are noted.
272. Boase, op.cit., pp.359, 363-64 and ftnts.
273. Cf. G.Vasari, Lives of the Most Eminent Painters (ed./transl., de Vere), Vol.IV (London, 1913), pp.13-14.
274. T.Klauser, "Die Liturgie der Heiligesprechung," in Heilige Überlieferung (Herwegen Festgabe), pp.212-33.
275. B.de Gaiffier, in AB, Vol.LXXXI (1963), p.481, and the standard works by KEMP, Toynbee, etc.
276. Cf. E.G.Salter (transl.), The Legend of Saint Francis by the Three Companions (London, 1926), p.110 and the translator's footnote.
277. Malden, op.cit., p.239.
278. Ibid., pp.xxix, 144.
279. Ibid., p.xxxii. Malden's whole narrative, of course, provides the material for the account which I have presented.
280. KEMP, p.92.
281. Cf. the remarks of Bond, op.cit., pp.194, 196.
282. Broderick, loc.cit., p.110.
283. F.J. Boehlke, Pierre de Thomas: Scholar, Diplomat, and Crusader (Philadelphia, 1966) pp.308,319.
284. P.Robinson (transl./ed.), The Golden Sayings of the Blessed Brother Giles of Assisi (London, 1907), pp.74-75, and ftnt.
285. KEMP, pp.109ff110.
286. Rodgers, op.cit., p.103, and references, passim.
287. Ibid., p.104 and footnotes.
288. KEMP, p.129ff.
289. Baron, op.cit., Vol.I, p.277, Vol.II, p.564, ftnt32.
290. Lea, Inquisition, Vol.II, p.440 and KEMP, p.113.
291. Cf. VAUCHEZ, pp.98-99, 256 on the Schism, administrative delay and canonization. DELOOZ also stresses the troubles of the papacy during this period:cf.p.218,235-36. Note Rodgers,op.cit., pp.103-4.

292. This interpretation of the data may be compared with that of DELOOZ, p.222.
293. Ibid., pp.220, 224. Note that the overall total of thirteenth century saints from groups one and two is 301. Subtracting the 207 saints listed for the four countries tabulated, one arrives at 94 saints not from these countries. The fourteenth century figure is (188-157)= 31 saints outside these four countries, and the fifteenth century figure is (134-108)= 26 saints.
294. Ibid., pp. 187-99. Sorokin makes substantially the same point, op.cit., pp.117-18.
295. DELOOZ, pp.167, 169-73, 182, 186, 203-4.
296. Italian Renaissance, p.48
297. Op.cit., Vol. I, pp.36-37, he lists a good many Franciscans, Dominicans, tertiaries, etc.
298. DELOOZ, p.224.
299. Hefele, op.cit., p.104, fnnt.8.
300. Ibid.,
301. G.Brucker, Renaissance Florence (New York, 1969), pp.199, 207-8; all of these Florentines were Dominicans: St.Antonino, Bl.Alessio Strozzi, Bl.Giovanni Tommici, and Fra Angelico (also a beatus).
302. K.Richtstätter, "Die Heiligen des Letzen Jahrtausends," "Stimmen der Zeit, Vol.CXII (1927), pp.81-94 (his tables are not always accurate); citation from p.88.
303. Beissel, op.cit., is sometimes guilty of this. The reviews of AB challenge a good many of these inflated dictionaries of the German saints.
304. Coulton, Five Centuries, Vol.II, p.216. To be sure, canonization efforts continued in England, e.g. the successful recognition of St.Osmund's sanctity in 1457, and the unsuccessful moves on behalf of Henry VI.
305. Cross, op.cit., p.948.
306. His legenda may be found in the Aberdeen Breviary. Forbes, op.cit., pp.355-56, is more cautious and speaks of him as "the last Scotsman" "who has been enrolled in the Kalendar of the Saints." Since there seems to be no complete corpus of Scottish calendars, it is difficult to support or to deny this statement.
307. Coulton, Scottish Abbeys, p.69-70 and references.
308. Cf. de Gaiffier, "Hagiographie et Historiographie," loc.cit., pp.141-45 ("... le type du sainte évolue avec le temps", p.145).
309. Delehaye, Sanctus, pp.20-41 presents this scheme but warns that it is excessively simplified.

310. I.Origo, The World of San Bernardino (London, 1963), p.14.
311. Father Cuthbert, A Tuscan Penitent. The Life and Legend of St. Margaret of Cortona (London, n.d.) is a good general introduction. Cf. AB, Vol.LXX (1952), p.455 on the fundamental text by her confessor Giunta Bevignati (BHL 5314).
312. Smet, op.cit., pp.159-60, where, in the apologue of Mézières' vita (written during Lent of 1366, p.31), these titles of glory are each applied to Peter Thomas.
313. Cf. DELOOZ, pp.377-80.
314. For Hertling's article, see Zeitschrift f. Ascese und Mystik, (1928), pp.349-52.
315. Idem., "Canonisation," D.S. Vol.II.1 (Paris, 1953), cols.77-88; note especially his "histoire du type catholique de sainteté," cols.81-83.
316. DELOOZ, p.274.
317. Cf. Reber, op.cit., pp.153, 193, 243ff.
318. M.S.Serjeantson (ed.), Osbern Bokenham's Legendys of Hooly Wummen (Early English Text Society, orig.ser.206) (London, 1938).
319. Ancelet-Hustache, op.cit., p.410ff.
320. Demographically and religiously, a recent study by D.Herlihy is illuminating on the subject: "The Tuscan Town in the Quattrocento: A Demographic Profile," in Medievalia et Humanistica, N.S., Vol.I (1970), pp.81-109; on widows, esp. pp.95, 101. The Church considered widowhood a privileged state and discourgged remarriage (cf.Chelini, op.cit., p.320). Widows appear as a recognized saint-type in many litanies.
321. Cf. B.Bolton, "Mulieres sanctae," in D.Baker, (ed.), Sanctity and Secularity (Studies in Church History, 10) (Oxford, 1973), pp.77-95; for Mary of Oignies, p.82. Service frequently seems to precede withdrawal; cf. St.Ivette de Huy, a widow who educated her children, tended lepers, and then became a recluse (her career is mentioned by de Moreau, op.cit., Vol.III, p.565, who makes the interesting comment that for Belgium, 1122-1378, "les femmes vénérées par le peuple sont plus nombreuses que les hommes," p.564). The subject of service, particularly to the sick, is obviously a broad one, and in alluding to it, I have no wish to discuss the Hospitallers of the twelfth or later centuries, or to intrude upon the history of medieval medical services, which the Italians, for example, are beginning to study seriously.
322. Ganay, op.cit., "Appendice," p.529. It must be admitted that both secular and regular tertiaries have been counted, (without differentiation) as tertiaries.
323. Cf. DELARUELLE, pp.1156-59 and the references mentioned in the notes.
324. On St.Catherine of Genoa, see the old but serviceable, Baron F. von Hügel, The Mystical Element of Religion as Studied in

St. Catherine of Genoa and her Friends, 2 Vols., 2nd.ed., (London, 1927); especially note Vol.I, p.141ff.

325. E.Delaruelle, "La spiritualité de Jeanne d'Arc," Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique, 1964, pp.17-33; 81-98, who discusses the "saintes vivant dans le monde" at the time of Joan of Arc, p.81ff. There is a good selection of female Tuscan saints in Calzolari, op.cit..
326. Roisin, op.cit., p.92.
327. Cf. de Moreau, op.cit., Vol.III, pp.409-12, 415, 419-20, where the rise and decline of Cistercian saints in Belgium is used as a sign of the general religious health or loss of health within the order.
328. Brentano, op.cit., contrasts what he sees as two differing national styles of sanctity, mendicant sanctity in Italy, and episcopal sanctity in England, p.175ff. In the thirteenth century, he argues, "English saints were in fact bishops" while "in Italy... the bishop and the saint were different things" (p.222). This interesting and contestable hypothesis is not really argued, for the chapter (III) is more concerned with the episcopacy, and differing attitudes towards it, than with sanctity. I wish that Brentano would explain the alleged Italian attitude towards bishops as saints in the light of the powerful tradition of venerating episcopal saints in Italy. Very many, perhaps most Italian towns had at least one episcopal patron saint.
329. Quoted by Ganay, op.cit., p.214.
330. Foster, op.cit., pp.25, 37-40, 44, 45-47, 50, 55, 58.
331. Ellis, op.cit., Vol.VII, pp.154-55.
332. Cf. G.Duby, "The Diffusion of Cultural Patterns in Feudal Society," Past and Present, April 1968, No.39, pp.3-10. For his remarks about Salimbene, p.9; his observations about popular Christianity are also useful.
333. Ellis, op.cit., Vol.VII, p.191, 192, 193.
334. Ibid., p.197.
335. Boase, op.cit., p.231-32. Andrieu, loc.cit., p.352. The old article by X. Barbier de Montault, "Le culte des docteurs de l'église à Rome," in Revue de l'art chrétien, 4th ser., Vol.II (1891), pp.275-90; 498-505, is not of great importance.
336. Cf. the 1411-1417 statutes of the county (which included a town) of Val di Lamone: 'quattuor doctorum ecclesiae'. The 1414 statutes of Faenza names them individually, but as a group: Lanzoni, Storia...Faentina, pp.417,418.
337. Gross, op.cit., p.720 says that St.Jerome had been depicted with the red hat since the thirteenth century. Réau, op.cit., Vol.III.2, p.742 says that he wore the red hat only after the mid-fourteenth century.
338. Cf. F.Cattaneo, "La liturgia nella forma Gregoriana," in Chiesa e Riforma nella Spiritualità del sec.XI (Todi, 1968), p.182.

- 338a. For attitudes towards the laity arising from the Gregorian Reform, see especially the Weersgseman article, previously cited, in Chiesa e Riforma.
339. See the convincing exposition of J.A.Leies, Sanctity and Religion according to St.Thomas (Theology Dissertation, University of Fribourg, Switzerland) (Fribourg, 1963).
340. Delaruelle, "La Spirituality aux xiv^e et xv^e siècles," loc.cit., pp.59-60.
341. The Penguin translation by M.R.B. Shaw is readily available.
342. Cf.Attwater, Réau, Cahier. Also AB, Vol.XLVIII (1930), p.190.
343. Cited in Vauchez, "Les Stigmates," loc.cit., p.613, ftnt.1. Some background to the episode in G.Volpe, Movimenti religiosi e sette ereticali nella società medievale italiana secoli xi-xiv (reprinted Florence, 1961), p.169.
344. On these saints s.v. Bib.Sanc. Colòmbini, supra. Luchesius, Sabatier, op.cit., pp.269-70; Hefele, op.cit., p.95.
345. Leroquais, Bréviaires, Vol.III, p.193.
346. Hefele, op.cit., p.101ff.
347. Lanzoni, Storia...Faentina, pp.239ff, 243-46, 263.
348. Ibid., pp.195-96
349. Cf. DELARUELLE, p.686.
350. See A.Vauchez, "Sainteté laïque au xiii^e siècle: la vie du bienheureux Fazio de Crémone," in Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Âge, Vol.LXXXIV (1972), pp.13-53; citation,p.36.
351. Ibid., p.30
352. Roisin, op.cit., p.126
353. Legge, op.cit., p.245, gives the prayer which is part of an anonymous passion of St.Edmund of the twelfth century; it begins "Sainte Edmund, fort reis curuned,/Devant le rei de maisted/Pur nus seiez avued (=advocate)."
354. One of many titles should suffice: K.Gorski, "Le Roi-Saint: probleme d'idéologie féodale," in Annales, Vol.XXIV (1969), p.370-76.
355. Burlet, op.cit., p.87.
356. Cf.M.McKisack, The Fourteenth Century (Oxford History of England) (Oxford, 1959), p.94-5.
357. Froissart (Johanes transl.), op.cit., Vol.I, p.335.
358. Owst, Literature and Pulpit, pp.70, ftnt.2, 72 (latter for the text).
359. Russell, loc.cit., pp.287-90 is relevant here. There seems to be little point in citing the standard studies on the Wilton Diptych.

360. Delehaye, "Loca sanctorum," loc.cit., p.39.
361. B.M.Marti, The Spanish College at Bologna in the Fourteenth Century, (Philadelphia, 1966), p.178
362. Cited in Meyer, loc.cit., p.386; particulars, pp.385-87
363. In the Penguin Joinville, p.349. He also called on St.James.
364. V.Leroquais, Le Bréviaire de Philippe le Bon, 2 Vols, (Brussels, 1929), Vol.I, p.119.
365. W.R.Jones, "Saints in Service: The Political and Cultural Implications of Medieval Hagiolatry," Cithara, Vol.X (1970), pp.33-44; reference here, p.37. This essay has a good deal of information on national saint cults.
366. Sonet, op.cit., p.321, item no. 1828.
367. Serjeantson, op.cit., p.259.
368. Delaruelle, "Jeanne d'Arc," loc.cit., pp.22-23.
369. Leroquais, Bréviaires, Vol.I, p.lxxvi.
370. V. Leroquais, Un Livre d'heures de Jean sans Peur, Duc de Bourgogne, (Paris, 1939), pp.18, 65-66ff.
371. Cf. Le Beau Vol.XLVI (1928), p. 217.
372. Lea, Auricular Confession, Vol.I, p.106.
373. Cf. Séjourné, loc.cit., Vol.XIV, col.948.
374. Messenger, op.cit., p.32.
375. Ibid., p.53.
376. Note the comments of J.van der Straeten, in AB, Vol.LXXXIII, (1965), p.213, and L.Genicot, Le XIII^e siècle européen (Nouvelle Clie, 18) (Paris, 1968), p.381.
377. Leroquais, Bréviaires, Vol.I, p.cxxxii.
378. Fully cited in Chapter I, fnnt.39.
379. Ibid., pp.12 (no.67), 128 (no.699), 244 (no.1380-addressed to St.Nicholas).
380. Ibid., e.g. p.112 (no.624).
381. Ibid., p.265 (no.1511).
382. Ibid., e.g., p.299 (no.1712)
383. Ibid., p.14 (no.77)
384. Rapp, op.cit., p.329. Other writers frequently make the same point.
385. Séjourné, loc.cit., col.947; Leroquais, Bréviaires, Vol.I, pp.xxiii-vi; Andrieu, "Missel", loc.cit., p.358; Cabrol and de Gaiffier, too have made the same general sort of observation.
386. Cabrol, loc.cit., col.1437. Rodgers, op.cit., pp.85-6.

387. Réau, op.cit., Vol.I, p.374. The complex relationship between the cult of Christ and the cult of the saints in the Middle Ages, which does not seem to have been systematically explored, deserves a fullscale study of its own.
388. Folena, op.cit., p.45.
389. See Trexler, loc.cit., p.21, translation, and references.
390. For this paragraph and about half of the next, I have drawn on C.N.L. Brooke, "Religious Sentiment and Church Design", loc.cit., especially, pp.26-30.
391. McCann transl., p.80. Wolfsgruber ed., Lib.III, Cap.VI, 4.
392. Ibid., McCann, pp.157-58. Wolfsgruber, Lib.IV, Cap.I, 8.
393. Ibid., McCann, p.44. Wolfsgruber, Lib.I, Cap.XXIII, 4: "...qui multum per grinantur, raro sanctificantur."
394. Ibid. McCann, p.151. Wolfsgruber, Lib.III, Cap.LVIII, 3-5ff.
395. Ibid. McCann, p.33, 101, 126, 130. Wolfsgruber, Lib.I, Cap. XVIII; Lib.III, Cap.XXII, 4; Lib.III, Cap.XLV, 3; Lib.III, Cap.XLVII, 3-4.
396. It would be inappropriate to try to list the many volumes pertaining to medieval Marian devotion. Rather, see Wilmart, Auteurs spirituels, passim., and as a good, brief introduction: H.Graef, Devotion to the Blessed Virgin (London, 1963).
397. Wilmart, Auteurs spirituels, pp.447-48; on the Holy Spirit, pp. 415-56.
398. Ibid., pp.537-58ff.
399. Ibid., from a fifteenth century prayer, cited p.555.
400. Sonet, op.cit., from a fourteenth century prayer, p.209 (item no.1153).
401. Cf. Opera Omnia, Vol.III(1956), Sermo vii, p.144ff.
402. Delaruelle, "Jeanne d'Arc," loc.cit., p.89, ftnt.38.
403. Opera, Vol.V (1956), p.202. ('De diffusione famae hominis iam perfecti').
404. Cf. AB, Vol.LIII (1935), p.391.
405. B. de Gaiffier, AB, Vol.LXXIV (1956), pp.326, 329 and ftnt.1.
406. Kaftal, Central, col. 1096.
407. E.Nestle, "Thomas Becket in Suddeutschen Kalend^{er}en," Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte, VolXXI (1901), p.453.
408. Foreville, op.cit., p.3ff.
409. Fliche, loc.cit., pp.351-54. Burlet, op.cit., p.234ff.
410. Cf. de Gaiffier, "Saints...de l'Ombrie," loc.cit., p.254.
411. Russell, loc.cit., p.286.

412. Wilman, op.cit., Vol.IX, p.79
413. Cf. Volpe, op.cit., p.163.
414. Reber, op.cit., pp.96-99, 101.
415. A.Van Dijk, "Il Culto di Santa Chiara nel medioevo," in Santa Chiara d'Assisi (perugia, 1954), p.162 (pagination of the whole article: pp.155-205).
416. Ibid., p.168.
417. B. de Gaiffier, in AB, Vol.LXXXI (1963), pp.275,278.
418. Andrieu, "Missel," loc.cit., pp.352-53.
419. Van Dijk, loc.cit., p.166.
420. Except for the first sentence of this paragraph, I have taken my points from Reber, op.cit., pp.80, 88.
421. In this paragraph, I am greatly indebted to Leroquais.
422. Idem., Philippe le Bon, Vol.I, pp.136-37.
423. Idem., Bréviaires, Vol.I, pp.xcix, cvi, cvii-ix, cix-x, cxi-xii.
424. Ibid., Vol.I, p.xcv.
425. Ibid., Vol.I, pp.xcii-iii, xcv-vi.
426. F. Halkin, in AB, Vol.LXII (1944), p.268.
427. Delehaye is reviewing Klauser's contribution to the Schulte Festgabe in AB, Vol.LIII (1935), pp.387-89.
428. Andrieu, "Missel," loc.cit., pp.355-59.
429. Ibid., pp.359-60
430. Cf., for example, Zilliken on Cologne, loc.cit.: What is needed, of course, are more studies of cult reception in particular dioceses.
431. Leroquais, Bréviaires, Vol.I, p.xciii.
432. Dowden, Church Year, p.96.
433. Leroquais, Bréviaires, Vol.I, p.xcv.
434. In pursuit of St.Bernardino of Siena and St.Vincent Ferrer, I have found the bulk of my evidence in ibid.; but I have also used two of Leroquais's other superb catalogues: Les Sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France (Paris, 1924), 4 Vols., *
435. While no Dominican liturgical book seems to have recorded St.Bernardino's feast day, the Franciscans paid more attention to St.Vincent (six of their books allude to him). Perhaps this is partially because St.Vincent was supposed to have prophesied a great apostolic career for the young Bernardino, (cf. Origo, World, pp.19-20).
436. Cf. Messenger, op.cit., p.59.

* and Les Pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France (Paris, 1937), 4 Vols.

437. There seems to be some difference of opinion among scholars regarding the extent and periodization of Roman liturgical influence. Leroquais, Bréviaires, Vol.I, p.cxv, stresses diocesan independence and diversity; with some exceptions, he argues the influence of the Roman liturgy "scarcely extended beyond the frontiers of the papal state." Lanzoni, Storia, p.411, emphasizes the importance of the Breviarium secundum Romanum curiam from the thirteenth century onwards, and the impact of the papal calendar on local calendars in Italy. Leroquais, Sacramentaires, Vol.I, p.x, again strongly asserts the liturgical peculiarities of each diocese. "The discovery of printing only accentuated the situation in fixing and propagating this diversity." J.Leclercq, op.cit., Vol.II, p.584, maintains that the printing of the Missale Romanum in 1474 tended to unify the various rites.
438. Here I am forced to register my deep disagreement with R.W.Pfaff, New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England (Oxford, 1970), pp.vii-viii. Pfaff regards the diffusion of new feasts of the saints as basically a simple matter of extension from one center outward and 'heortology' as being as fascinating but basically rather unreflective subject..." I believe that the subject is only as narrow as one chooses to make it.
439. Cf. de Gaiffier, in AB, Vol.LXXXIII (1965), pp.53-74.
440. Cf. KEMP, pp.2-6. Delehaye, in AB, Vol.XXVI (1907), p.99. Idem., AB, Vol.XLVIII (1930), pp.7-10.
441. Cf. V.L.Kennedy, The Saints of the Canon of the Mass (Vatican City, 1938).
442. Note, de Moreau, op.cit., Vol.III, p.568.
443. E.Delaruelle, "La Vie commune des clercs et la spiritualité populaire au XI^e siècle, in La Vita Comune del Clero nei Secoli XI e XII (Milan, 1962), Vol.I, pp.142-73; for the citation, p.143.
444. Beissel, op.cit., p.49. Cf. the perceptive review of DELARUELLE by A.Vauchez, in Moyen Age, Vol.LXXIII (1967), pp.566-69. Here, too, however, saints are not clearly distinguished from their cults.
445. Cf. Hefele, op.cit., pp.97-98.
446. Ibid., pp. 103-4 on the Servite saints and Italy; my impression of the Carmelites is rather similar to his on the Servites.
447. Van Dijk, loc.cit., p.167 speaks of the "la tendenza verso adattazioni locali si faceva sentire sempre più intensa" among the liturgists of the time.
448. Leroquais, Philippe le Bon, Vol.I, p.136, refers both to the Schism and the Hundred Years War in this regard.
449. Delaruelle, Pietà Popolare, loc.cit., pp.519-20. I presume that here the late canon Delaruelle is referring to the

diffusion of saint cults.

450. Cf. Reber, op.cit., p.98.
451. Included in Coulton's Life, Vol.I, p.237. This is an extract from James' answer to the Fraticelli. Coulton's extract runs pp.235-38; his translation from the Scelta di Curiosità Letterarie (Bologna, 1865).
452. See Séjourné, loc.cit., Vol.XIV, Col.949.
453. Manning, op.cit., p.53.
454. Owat, Literature and Pulpit, pp.135-37ff.
455. J.Wardroper (ed.), The Remaundes Joyous: A Facsimile of the First English Riddle Book (London, 1971), fac. (un-numbered) p.4, and transl., p.25.
456. Seybolt, op.cit., pp.43-44.
457. A.Van Dijk, "The Litany of the Saints in the Breviary of the Roman Curia," Franciscan Studies, Vol.VII (1947), p.433. I regret that I have not had the space to examine the litany as a source for the cult of saints.
458. Cf. Kern, loc.cit., p.240.
459. Cited and discussed in Schauerte, op.cit., pp.123-24.
460. Huizinga, op.cit., pp.173-74. Cf. de Gaiffier, AB, Vol.LXXIV (1956), p.275.
461. Bond mentions a 1433 English Cathedral dedication to Saint George and Denys by a half-English, half-French donor, op.cit., p.66.
462. See J.E.Matzke, "Contributions to the History of the Legend of St. George," in PMLA (Public. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.), Vols.XVII (1902) and XVIII (1903) pp.464-535, 99-171; for England esp. pp.120-26; p.155. Also note N.Denholm Young, The Country Gentry in the Fourteenth Century, pp.145-46. Cf. Cross, op.cit., p.549.
463. K. Meyer, "St. ^{Job} Jacob as a Patron of Music," The Art Bulletin, Vol.XXXVI (1954), pp.21-31.
464. Gouron, op.cit., pp.350-52, fnnt.103.
465. Cf. Beissel, op.cit., pp.134-38. Mâle-Fin, p.157. Moeller, loc.cit., pp.18-19. R.Aubenas and R.Ricard, L'Eglise et la Renaissance, 1449-1517 (Fliche et Martin, Hist. de l'Eglise, Vol.XV) (Paris, 1951), p.344: "c'est à la veille de la Réforme que le culte des saints connut sa plus grande expansion." Might it be suggested that hypotheses are more valuable than paradoxes?
466. I intend to deal with the implications of this popularization in a paper to the Second International Colloquium in Ecclesiastical History (Oxford, 1974).
467. Clemen, op.cit., p.18.
468. Milman, op.cit., Vol.IX, p.76.

- 469. Gasquet and Bishop, op.cit., pp.124-25.
- 470. Ibid., his name was later erased.
- 471. Milman, op.cit., Vol.IX, p.77.
- 472. Cf. Hefele, op.cit., p.33.
- 473. Cf. DELARUELLE, p.790.

Chapter IV.

THE CULT OF SAINTS IN LATER MEDIEVAL PERUGIA

Delehayé suggests two alternative approaches to the historical study of the cult of saints.¹ The first consists of describing, with as much thoroughness and detail as possible, all the various manifestations of cult paid to an individual saint during a given historical period. For a saint enjoying universal veneration, however, Delehayé acknowledges that such a goal is unrealistic and that a study which aims at achieving it, is indeed liable to produce merely superficial findings.² Hence, either the geographical scope of the intended study should be limited, or a saint should be chosen whose cult was already more or less restricted to a specific region. Then the techniques of Patrozinienforschung might be employed to best advantage.

Delehayé himself seems to favour another approach, one which sets out to trace the cults of each of the saints venerated within a narrowly circumscribed locality. Here, the intention would be to indicate the overall pattern of cults characteristic of a particular place. A point in favour of this procedure is that a definite historical context is pre-supposed. Within such a historical framework, the cult of saints might be surveyed in a way beneficial to both hagiographical studies and general historical inquiry. Furthermore, local popular religious culture has a certain integrity. To isolate an individual cult from others in the same area, to remove it from a peculiar pattern of veneration involves the

risk of over-emphasis or, in any case, loss of perspective.³

Feyer's well-known Stadt und Stadtpatron im Mittelalterlichen Italien examines the cults of St. Mark in Venice, St. Ambrose in Milan, St. John the Baptist in Florence, and the Virgin Mary in Siena. For each city, the cult of its most famous patron saint is studied apart from the many other cults comprising the local hagiographic program. Distortion inevitably follows from the implication that each city has a unique patron, that his cult is the sole outlet for the city's patriotic feelings, and that he alone symbolized the city's corporate identity. Feyer undoubtedly knows better, but the erroneous implications resulting from his method remain. It is sufficient to cite part of the preamble to a Florentine treaty with Arezzo (7 March 1337) to show that John the Baptist was not considered the only patron saint of Florence.

...ad honorem, laudem et reverentiam Omnipotentis Dei et beate Marie semper Virginis Matris eius et beati sancti Johannis Baptiste et beate Leonarde et sancti Genobii et beatorum Apostolorum et Pauli et sancti Barnabe, patronorum et defensorum civitatis Florentie...⁴

Of course, there is also some danger in trying to present a total hagiographic program. The multitude of universal, regional, and local saints visibly receiving some degree of cult might seem to prevent any pattern of veneration from emerging. Yet this danger may be averted by analyzing the status of each saint's cult within the local pattern. What is more, each saint should be allocated the amount of space which his relative importance dictates. Evidence testifying to cult naturally tends to be more plentiful with saints

of higher community standing, and, obviously, availability of evidence influences the treatment which each saint ought to receive. For these reasons, it should be possible to minimize the confusion and retain a sense of discrimination between major and minor cults.

The bulk of this chapter consists of a sort of Perugian index sanctorum, a roster of saints enjoying a public cult in the city between 1200 and 1500, together with summary notices on the chief manifestations of each cult. Whenever possible, there are indications of the group or groups promoting the saint's cult, the saint's local ties or associations, his type of sanctity, the geographical origins of his cult (whether native or foreign), and the point of time at which it makes its appearance, if it is new to the later Middle Ages.

From what has been said, it should be clear that an examination of the cult of saints in later medieval Perugia pretends to do nothing more than that. It is by no means intended to serve as the equivalent of, or replacement for an ecclesiastical history of the city.⁵ A great deal of information which would necessarily find a place in an ecclesiastical history but which has little direct bearing on the cult of the saints has been deliberately excluded. On the other hand, many aspects of popular religious life and practice, usually omitted from traditional ecclesiastical histories, are far from peripheral where the cult of saints is concerned. Out of such material this account has been constructed.

The Hagiographic Program of Perugia.

There are a number of ways of classifying and arranging a roster of saints, but some of them are more ingenious than practical. Usually, the saints of a specified area are classified geographically, according to the regions from which their cults originally came. Sometimes these geographical groupings are elaborately sub-divided (e.g. "groupe romain, groupe lombard, groupe piémontais, groupe franc, etc."), although it is not always possible to ascertain the exact territories from which the respective cults were received.⁶ Consequently, a complex system of geographical classification may be more misleading than beneficial. To be avoided, also, are oddly assorted categories of miscellaneous cults (e.g. "Orientalisch-Spatmittelalterlicher Ostrosinien-Reis").⁷

On the grounds of simplicity and clarity, Delchaye's scheme has much to commend it. Three main divisions are called for: saints universally honored; indigenous saints; and saints borrowed from neighboring dioceses, or from more distant regions, whose fame was not universal.⁸ Delchaye believes that an advantage of his classifications system is that it quickly identifies the saints of peculiarly local interest ("les figures qui donnent à l'hagiographie d'une contrée sa physionomie propre").⁹ True, but fully localized universal saints are apt to be elided by being placed together with other universal saints who may lack the community's special droits de cité. Nevertheless, special instances like the cult of St. Lawrence in Perugia, can be indicated, without any difficulty, and without invalidating the scheme. Therefore, for ~~old~~ saints

venerated in Perugia between 1200-1500 Delehaye's system has been strictly adhered to.

Because later medieval Perugia witnessed the arrival of many new saints whose cults assumed considerable importance from 1200-1500, and because it is desirable to show innovation as well as continuity in the Perugian hagiographic program, the 'new saints' venerated in Perugia have been set out in a separate roster. St. Joseph is the only saint whose position in this list might be challenged. He has been placed among the new saints in order to underscore the fact that his cult was welcomed in Perugia towards the very end of our period, and that his veneration in the city was due to historical circumstances which were both unusual and significant.

Classifying these new Perugian saint cults has not turned out to be as straightforward as one would have thought. Local saints, naturally, present no difficulties, but to decide whether or not a new cult was of universal or regional significance around the time of its introduction in Perugia, has sometimes proved to be painful. Canonization per se is no criterion, for, as Chapter III has hopefully made clear, not all canonized saints had a universally diffused cult in later medieval Christendom. Each case, therefore, has had to be judged on its merits. Saints whose cults were judged to have been less than universally diffused may be found in the regional category; unfortunately, not everyone will agree with each judgement. The intense activity of the friars in promoting their saints in the later Middle Ages is most apparent with these cults

of less than universal diffusion; where the friars were strong, their cults of the second-rank had a better chance of being adopted outside the order; and the friars had considerable strength in Perugia. Perugia's proximity to Rome is an additional reason for the city's awareness of newly canonized order saints. To make the impact of the religious orders plain, new cults partially or wholly sponsored by the friars have been labelled in this way: universal/order; regional/order; local/order. Within each category (e.g. that of new local saints, or old regional saints), the roster proceeds in alphabetical order.

Evidence used in this roster of Perugian saint cults has been taken from a wide variety of sources, but is inherently incomplete. A number of MSS. and works of art have been dispersed or lost. Important liturgical documents have travelled a good distance from Perugia (cf. Appendix A) or have disappeared. A major gap in the evidence seems to be medieval relic inventories from Perugian churches. If any have survived, the present writer has been unable to locate them. Latin and vernacular vitae were both composed and transcribed in later medieval Perugia. Yet, for the saints particularly venerated in the city, the hagiographic evidence is weak; more characteristic and more plentiful are dramatic lauds.¹⁰

The illustrious sixteenth century historian of the city, Pompeo Pellini (d.1594), again and again, especially in the earlier chapters of his book, lamented the paucity of medieval Perugian annals and chronicles. Muratori voiced the same lament, deploring the fact that he was not able to include any chronicles of Perugia in

his famous collection of sources. Compared to other Italian cities of historical importance, Perugia does appear to be relatively impoverished in its narrative records.¹¹ Since Muratori's time, however, several pre-1500 Perugian chronicles have been published, along with civic statutes and riformanze.¹² This is not the place to discuss the vexed questions of the historiography of Perugia — such matters as the real identity of 'Graziani' or 'Matarazzo' —¹³ but Pellini deserves at least passing notice. Mr. C.F. Black has justly stressed Pellini's value, praising his use of archival material, some of which is no longer extant, and commenting upon his general trustworthiness in most things non-controversial. "All historians of Perugia are reliant on Pellini's Dell'Historia di Perugia,"¹⁴ and this study is no exception.

Useful as well have been the standard histories of the city by Bonazzi, Heywood, and Guardabassi, and the articles and monographs by art-historians like Ricci and Santi.¹⁵ Kaftal has been a constantly consulted guide to the representations of saints in Perugia. Indebtedness to other art-historians will be apparent from the notes. It is a matter of regret that time did not permit any work in Perugia's Archivio di Stato.¹⁶ Recourse has been made, therefore, to an inventory which, for all its undoubted imperfections, still permits access to a relevant body of archival information: A. Riccieri's "Indice degli annali ecclesiastici perugini."¹⁷ For topographic evidence of cult, the catalogue of Perugian rationes decimarum for 1332-34 has been invaluable, and the more scholarly guidebooks to the city, serviceable.¹⁸ Topographic reference material also occurs in contemporary documents, and in the ample

notes to the published charters from the archives of San Pietro of Perugia.¹⁹ Finally, "comment parler d'hagiographie ombrienne, sans citer le nom de cet historienⁿ, qui naïvement sans doute, a tant fait pour sauver de l'oubli les traditions de cette province":²⁰ Lodovico Jacobilli.²¹

Roster of Saints Venerated in Perugia: Old Universal Saints.

St. AGATHA. (5 Feb.): virgin-martyr. In central Italy, her name was frequently inscribed on bells, to guard against fire.²² In Perugia, titular of a church in Porta S. Susanna which dates from 1290-1317, and incorporates an earlier one (Guida, p.92, Pedica, p.63). Images: second half of 15th century (from the church of San Agostino: Santi, p.16, no.123); 1480s (panel from San Antonio: Santi, p.19, 111-114); 15th century? (Sant'Angelo fresco). Not a cult of civic importance in Perugia.

St. AGNES. (21 Jan.): virgin-martyr. Titulary of a Franciscan nunnery in porta S. Angelo, named in the Annali in 1296 (Riccieri, p.385). In 1429, this convent was ceded to the tertiaries of S. Maria di Valfabbrica.²³ Lauds for 21 Jan., and her second holiday on 28 Jan. (Bar., p.278). Images: possible 14th century fresco at Santa Giuliana;²⁴ 14th century panel from San Tommaso (Santi, p.13, no.17); martyrdom of St. Agnes in a 15th century painting formerly from Santa Agnese (Santi, p.17, no.79); in later 15th century stained glass at San Domenico (Santi-Guida, p.87). Not a cult of civic importance in Perugia.

St. AMBROSE. (7 Dec.): bishop and doctor. His cult in Perugia becomes significant in 1375. In that year Florence went to war with the Papacy (War of the Eight Saints). "The political program which Florence put to the towns of the Papal state was destructive but attractive. It was simply to revolt against the 'rapacity and avarice' of the priests."²⁵ Perugia revolted on 7 Dec.1375, and soon became the center of the Florentine league in Umbria.²⁶ The Perugians especially detested the papal ruler of their city Gérard du Puy, Abbot of Marmoutier, the chief papal fiscal agent in Italy and builder of a great fortress in Perugia's Porta Sole.²⁷ A chronicler writes: "Al nome di Dio e della sua madre Vergine santissima e del beato S. Ercolano, di S. Lorenzo, di S. Costanzo, i quali liberarono il popolo di Perugia e trassero di servitù dalle mani de' maledetti pastori della Chiesa."²⁸ He immediately goes on to say that on the 7th of the 'victorious' month of December (St. Ambrose's day), thanks to the operation of divine power, il santo popolo perugino rose up against the Abbot and the pastors of the Church. The Annali record (Ricciari, p.393) that in 1376 the commune of Perugia, grateful for the recovery of its liberties, erected a chapel of San Ambrogio in the church of Santa Maria Nuova, and decreed that St.Ambrose's day should be kept as ferie in omnibus. On that day, because it had pleased God to grant them victory over the soldiers of the Church, the magistrates, furthermore, ordered that in perpetuity all the religious order and confraternities of the city should go on procession to Santa Maria Nuova with lighted torches and leave at the church a thank-offering of a silver cup or ten florins. Other special marks of rejoicing would include public games, feasting, and the liberation of the women from prohibitions on wearing costly garments and precious jewels.²⁹

Defeated signori were, in 1378, required to give to the magistrates silk for a pallio on St. Ambrose's day. Also, late in that same year and probably not in 1377 (cf. Riccieri, p.393), the magistrates declared that the feast of St. Ambrose should be celebrated with as much pomp as All Saints or St. Herculaneus's day, and that all the measures originally legislated should be kept.³⁰ In 1382, the magistrates agreed that the frati of Santa Maria Nuova (where St. Ambrose's chapel was located) should be given ten florins on the feast of St. Ambrose, a custom which was already falling into desuetude, and that compensation should be paid the frati every year for damage done to their church when the fortress had been seized.³¹ There may be an allusion to the saint's procession in 1394 (Riccieri, p.403), but it is clear that by the end of the century the cult was losing its civic importance. That the city had a virtual signore itself, Biordo Michelotti, from 1393-98, may have altered attitudes towards the events of 1375. On 20 Jan. 1400, Perugia placed herself under the protection of the Duke of Milan.³² No saints are mentioned. The Perugian cult of Milan's most famous saint does not seem to have profited from the new allegiance. Images: together with the other doctors of the Church (cf. Santi, p.20, no.150-51: executed in 1447).

St. ANASTASIUS. (22 Jan.): monk and martyr. Extract of a vita in a 15th century collection of Perugian saints' lives.³³ Titulary of one parish church in Porta S. Pietro and another in Porta Eburnea; the first may be documented from 1275, the second from 1285.³⁴ A minor cult.

St. ANDREW. (30 Nov.): apostle, martyr. In Perugia, titulary of the church of S. Andrea supra murum (Rat., 835, 1164, etc.) and of

S. Andrea la Porta S. Susanne (Rat., 1269, 1534, etc.). In this latter church (a chapel in 1168, a parish church from 1285), the relics of the Bl. Henry would rest in the 15th century (Santi-Guida, p.126). From the second half of the 14th century his cult would be associated with the confraternity of flagellants that was placed under his patronage. For example, in 1468, the city gave charity to the disciplinati for his feast (Riccieri, p.444). The constitutions of the confraternity, which bear the date 1374, are dedicated to the honor of God, the Virgin Mary, and of the "glorioso martire e defensore messere scō Herculano, scō Lorenzo, scō Costanzo, et scō Andrea aplo."³⁵ A major charitable activity of the confraternity consisted of accompanying condemned criminals on their way to execution.³⁶ A laudario from this confraternity dates from the latter 14th century.³⁷ There naturally exist lauds in honor of the saint (Bar., p.276). His image appears in representations of the apostles, and in other groupings of saints (e.g. Kaf., col.59-60) from the 13th to 15th centuries. A cult not of great civic importance, but significant for members of the confraternity, and for parishioners.

St. ANNE (26 July): matron. Very slight evidence of cult in Umbria in the later Middle Ages (cf. Rat.; Kaf. gives no images whatsoever). The nunnery of Santa Maria degli Angeli seems to have become known as Santa Anna sometime after 1300.³⁸ A late 13th century image in which St. Anne appears is described as Umbrian, but no Perugian provenance is assigned (Santi, p.9, no.31). The Dominicans of Perugia had a reliquary of the saint c.1458 (ibid., no.742). Her feast (26 July) has been inserted into the calendar from Santa Giuliana's convent (see Appendix A).

St. ANTHONY (17 January): abbot. He is mentioned 1332-34 as the titular of two churches, a priory in Porta Sole (Rat., 746, 1087, etc.) and the church of S. Antonini de Porta S. Susane (Rat., 1008, etc.), which is listed in a 1262 inventory.^{38a} The former church is recorded from 1163, and from the 1370's a porta di Santo Antonio led out of the city (Santi-Guida, p.147). Presumably, Antoninus (whose feast figures in the municipal statutes of 1342)³⁹ is the same saint. St. Anthony Abbot shared with the Virgin Mary the patronage of a confraternity of flagellants (cf. Ricciari, p.415; reference for 1413),⁴⁰ and not surprisingly there are lauds in this honor (Bar., p.277: 14th century). Predictably too, this saint, who was well-known throughout the Latin West, would be iconographically conspicuous in Perugia (e.g. Santi, p.5, no.698; p.7, no.996; p.23, no.117-22). Before 1456, however, there is no indication that his cult had any great significance for the city as a whole. Yet that year the new magistrates, who took office on 1 January, instituted public processions on the saint's feast (17 Jan.) and on St. Sebastian's (20 Jan.).^{40a} The Annali call St. Anthony an intercessory saint for the Perugian people (Ricciari, p.434). Again in the following year, he is singled out for praise in similar terms. From 1456-59, and also in 1463, we hear St. Anthony called 'protector and intercessor of Perugia' (ibid., p.436) 'who is miraculous in his works and worthy of praise and veneration, so that he may free the city of Perugia from every danger' (ibid., p.437); processions, wax for his church, and freedom for debtors during his feast are all ordained (ibid., p. 441). These were plague years in Perugia, and it is as a

plague saint early in the second half of the 15th century that St. Anthony Abbot came to enjoy his greatest local reputation.

St. AUGUSTINE (28 Aug.): bishop and doctor. There may have been an earlier church of which he was titular, but the present Sant' Agostino was completed probably around 1279, enlarged in the 14th century, and embellished in the 15th. It was the home of the Augustinian friars who had an adjoining convent. Their chapters-general were held herein 1279, 1303, 1439, and 1482.⁴² The Augustinian Observantines came to Perugia around 1446.⁴³ As well as being venerated by a prominent religious order, St. Augustine was also patron of a confraternity of flagellants, founded about 1317,⁴⁴ and there is a Perugian laud in his honor (Bar., p.285). His image was undoubtedly a familiar one in the 15th century city (e.g. Santi, p. 16, no.123: from the church of San' Agostino; second half of the 15th century; p.29, nos.274, 276; p.30, no.279). His church receives a civic bequest in 1313 (Ricciari, p.388); his holiday appears on the municipal statutes of 1342;⁴⁵ and processions were held for him in 1441, 1453, 1459, 1460 (and probably on other years also) (ibid., pp.426, 432, 438). In 1441 there are allusions to particular devotions and miracles that one would like to know more about (ibid., p.426). The church of Sant' Agostino was in the 14th century a meeting place for the popular, anti-noble ^faction.⁴⁶ Altogether, the cult of St. Augustine was firmly established in the city.

St. BARBARA (4 Dec.): virgin-martyr. She was the patron saint of the Compnay of Ultramontanes (also called the universitas or societas germanorum et gallorum), to which the Germans and French people resident in Perugia belonged. In the 15th century, this was a religious and charitable confraternity, which met in the church of the Servites. The statutes of 1454 list Santa Croce and Santa Barbara as joint patrons of the confraternity. The scholars of the German nation of the University of Perugia had the same patrons.⁴⁷ A cult of limited importance.

St. BARTHOLOMEW (24 Aug.): apostle, martyr. Titulary of a parish church in Porta Eburnea referred to in a document of 1231;⁴⁸ the Annali mention a civic bequest to this church in 1313 (Ricciari, p.388). There was a confraternity named after this saint (ibid., p.460), a laud survives (Bar., p.285), and a 13th-14th century fresco of the saint, originally from Santa Giuliana's depicts St. Bartholomew carrying his own flayed skin and head (Kaf., col.153). The Dominicans held a chapter-general in the parish church of San Bartolomeo in 1478.⁴⁹ A relatively minor cult.

St. BASIL (14 June): bishop, doctor, order-founder. Veneration probably confined to the Basilian monks of San Matteo. Possible 13th century image of St. Basil in San Matteo.⁵⁰

St. BENEDICT (21 March): abbot, order-founder. Although the cult of St. Benedict is properly described as universal, in central Italy it has strong regional connections. Especially venerated by the monastic orders (Benedictine, Camaldolese, Cistercian, Sylvestrine, etc.), St. Benedict appears very frequently in monastic iconography (e.g. Santi, p. 15, no.116; p.25, no.166-70,

and Kaf., col.165 for 15th century Sylvestrine processional banner).¹⁵ A church dedicated to the saint is mentioned in early 14th century sources (Ricciari, p. 390),⁵² and was a convent.⁵³ But St. Benedict may at times - perhaps through monastic influence - have enjoyed wider favor. He is represented on the Fontana Maggiore of 1278; lights and a procession for his feast are cited for 1316 (Ricciari, p.390); and his feast is listed in the 1342 statutes.⁵⁴

St. BERNARD (20 Aug.): abbot. A cult primarily maintained by the monastic orders, and especially by St. Bernard's own Cistercians (e.g. Kaf., col.193, Santi, p.15, no.116; p.25, no.156-70). Wearing his white Cistercian habit, St. Bernard may also be seen as a doctor of the Church (e.g. Santi, p.22, no.153). Yet in a contract dated 14 Feb. 1495, Pinturicchio was asked to render him "cum habitu de' canonici Regulari."⁵⁵ A ruined ex-voto dedicated to him (1370, San Stefano's) shows that non-monastic devotion to St. Bernard existed as well.⁵⁶

St. BLAISE (3 Feb.): bishop and martyr. From 1275, titular of one parish church in the Porta Eburnea, and a second in the Porta San Pietro (ASP, pp.116-17). A laud indicates a somewhat broader cult (Bar., p.278). The citation of his feast in the 1342 municipal statutes⁵⁷ is probably due to his church patronages.

St. BRIDGET (1 Feb.): abbess. Sole sign of cult for this Scottish or Irish saint is a 1225 fresco at San Prospero (Kaf., col.233).

St. CATHERINE of Alexandria (25 Nov.): virgin-martyr. Titulary of a monastery built in 1317,⁵⁸ (but cf. Riccieri, p.385: for 1296; in the contado?). Her feast is mentioned in the 1342 municipal statutes.⁵⁹ To judge from the iconographic evidence a popular saint (e.g. Santi, p.5, no.671; p.14, no.5^a, etc.), but it is not possible to attribute her popularity to the zeal of any particular group. Evidence for her cult comes from a variety of sources (e.g. 14th century laud, Bar., p.285, and ex-voto;⁶⁰ chapel dedication at Santa Maria Nuova;⁶¹ representation in Dominican stained-glass, Santi-Guida, p.87). Her cult was undoubtedly popular, yet without real significance for the collective life of the city.

St. CECILIA (22 Nov.): virgin-martyr. A monastery in Porta Sole was apparently dedicated to her (Riccieri, p.392: for 1326).

St. CHRISTOPHER (25 July): martyr. Titulary of a parish church antedating 1275 in the Porta Sant' Angelo (ASP, pp.116-17).

Pellini refers to a porta san Cristoforo in connection with events in 1378.⁶² In 1482, the church of San Cristoforo had a miraculous Marian image (Picciari, p. 452). The Perugians were concerned that in 1274 an image of Jesus and St.Christopher had been damaged by stones (an intentional desecration?) in their territory of Castiglione del Lago (ibid., pp.385, 86). Strong evidence of cult comes from other images of the saint (e.g. Santi, p.6, no.53; the 15th century fresco in the church of Sant' Angelo, etc.). The most important sign of civic interest in St.Christopher was the 1297 decree of the magistrates that he should be included in the celebrated Maesta delle Volte painting along with the Virgin

and Saints Lawrence and Herculanius.⁶³ This cult, which was not based on the promotion of any particular group, was well-established even before the 14th century.

St. COSMOS (27 Sept.): martyr. ^{An} _A inscription remains of a (14th century?) ex-voto in the church of San Stephano.⁶⁴

Sts. CRISPIN and CRISPINIAN (25 Oct.): martyrs. Church and hospital dedicated to the former saint were built after 1340 by the shoemakers (Santi-Guida, p.149). A church dedicated to the latter in Porta S. Angelo is recorded in 1332 (Rat., 737 etc.).

St. ELIGIUS (1 Dec.): bishop. Universal patron of smiths, St. Alò or Alone, as he was called in Italy, was naturally patron of Perugia's arte dei fabbri. In the guild's statutes of 1369 his patronage would be alluded to, just as in a late 14th or early 15th century copy of these statutes the opening miniature, divided into two parts, represents in its upper portion the Madonna enthroned with Saints Lawrence and Herculanius by her side, while ^{St Eligius is depicted} below, _A in the act of hammering out a horseshoe, with the guild-members kneeling in homage before him.⁶⁵ A chronicler records that in 1467, at the ospedale di s. Alò (in Porta Eburnea?), a man who held the rents of the establishment was visited at night by the saint in person, who cursed him for spoiling his house; the man is said to have died of fright.⁶⁶ A cult restricted to an occupation.

St. GEORGE (23 April): martyr. There was a monastery under his protection outside the walls of the city (before 1300?).⁶⁷

In 1376, a chronicler talks of "la via, che va s. Giorgio."⁶⁸

Of the Compagnie delle cinque porte, the only one named after a saint, was named St. George (cited, 1392).⁶⁹ He was also the patron of a confraternity;⁷⁰ and there is a laud dedicated to him (Bar., p.283). His is the sole saint's image (c.1296) in the Sala dei Notari, once the audience room of the podestà;⁷¹ and a 15th century fresco outside San Pietro's shows that veneration for St. George continued throughout the medieval period (Santi-Guida, p.97). Matarazzo compares the martial appearance of Giovan Paolo Baglione with that of St. George.⁷² St. George was, of course, patron of warriors, so it is interesting to hear his name coupled with St. Herculanus's in a Perugian war-cry (1443: versus Assisi).⁷³ Once again, a truly 'universal' cult; within Perugia it had local support, yet never assumed a localized character.

St. GREGORY (12 March): pope, doctor. Gregory the Great was, as author of the Dialogues, the hagiographer of Perugia's St. Herculanus, and so perhaps had a special claim on the city's regard. There was a parish church of San Gregorio in Porta S. Susanna prior to 1262.⁷⁴ Probably the same church is called a nunnery in 1316 (Ricciari, p. 389). An image of the saint dates from the 14th century (Raf., col.536). St. Gregory was also represented as a doctor of the Church (e.g. Santi, p.20, no.150-51); intellectual activity was fittingly associated with him. In 1361, Cardinal Nicolò Capocci, a former student at Perugia, instituted the collegium scholarium pauperum de Ferusio in the Porta Uburnea; it was known as the "casa degli scolari di san Gregorio confessore" or "Sapienza vecchia." An annual visit to the college by the municipal authorities on the feast of St. Gregory was enjoined in

its statutes.⁷⁵ St. Gregory's cult was firmly established in Perugia.

St. ISIDORE (4 April): bishop. A parish church dedicated to this saint (in Porta San Pietro; cited in 1275) is the sole indication of cult (ASP, pp.116-17).

St. JAMES the Greater (25 July): apostle. His church dedications are easily confused with those of St. James the Less. Two churches, one in the Porta Eburnea, have Iacobus as patron in 1275 (ASP, pp.116-17). Moreover, there was a hospital bearing his name in the Porta S. Susanna (Riccieri, p.401; mentioned in 1390); and perhaps there was a similar foundation in the Porta S. Pietro after 1394.⁷⁶ A fair number of images (e.g. Nat. Gall. of Umbria, no.710; Santi, p.13, no.17; Santi-Guida, p.87ff.), and at least one laud (Bar., p.234, shared with St. Christopher, since both saints are honored on the same day) demonstrates a respectable status in the program of cults. Veneration, however, remained directed towards St. James as to a universal saint; no specific appeal to Perugian loyalties.

St. JAMES THE LESS, and PHILLIP (1 May): apostles. These saints were venerated in the rione (ward) of the Porta Sant' Angelo, where their feast day was the principal celebration of the quarter. Hence the cult of these saints centered upon the rione's main church, Sant' Agostino. The Augustinians successfully petitioned the magistrates in 1409 that the 1st of May should be celebrated with processions to their church.⁷⁷ Such processions
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are alluded to in 1460 (Riccieri, p. 438), and again in 1471. Lauds exist for the two saints (Bar., p.283). No other significant evidence of cult.

St.JEROME (30 Sept.): Priest and doctor. A church of San Girolamo in Porta S. Pietro is mentioned in 1487, but does not appear on parish lists.⁷⁹ Outside the walls of the city, there was a convent (Rat., 2357, etc.) and a church (Rat., 1795, etc.) dedicated to the saint in the Perugian contado. In the later 15th century, the convent belonged to the Franciscan Observantines.⁸⁰ Chapels to St.Jerome were common in Perugia (e.g. in San Domenico,⁸¹ in San Francesco,⁸² near San Bevignate (c.1253)).⁸³ On 24 Jan. 1445, the Franciscan Giacomo della Marca founded the Fraternita di s. Girolamo, s. Francesco, e. s. Bernardino, later simply known as the Company of St.Jerome. The matriculation list of 1 Sept., 1447 invokes these three saints in its prologue.⁸⁴ As a doctor of the Church, St.Jerome was naturally associated with Christian learning. It was appropriate, therefore, that in the 14th century "Sapienza vecchia" had St.Gregory for a patron, the 15th century "Sapienza nuova" (founded in 1425 by the Perugian Benedetto di Alberto Guidalotti, Bishop of Recanati) should select a symbol of Christian humanist values, St.Jerome. This "casa di san Girolamo" did not become fully active until 1443; the college seems to have taken over San Biagio in Porta S. Pietro (the church of San Girolamo named above?).⁸⁵ Many images of the saint were made in Perugia (e.g. Santi, p.22, no.153; p.26, nos.178-79). Probably because of the location of his chapel near the church of San Bevignate, but also ^{perhaps} ~~perhaps~~ because of the penitential side of St.Jerome's cult, the Legenda of Rainero Fasani (early 14th century?) concerning the flagellant movement of 1260 includes a personal appearance of St.Jerome.⁸⁶ But St.Jerome's greatest Perugian moment came when the city decided to declare St.Bevignate

canonized, in 1453. The church of San Bevignate had also been consecrated as the chapel of St. Jerome⁸⁷ and so the cult of the famous doctor undoubtedly rose in civic esteem with the fortunes of his obscure local co-titulary. The Annali of 1455 call both St. Jerome and St. Bevignate "advocates of Perugia" (Riccieri, p.433). Colomba da Rieti had a warm affection for St. Jerome.⁸⁸ All in all, a well established cult, with occasional signs of localization.

St. JOHN the BAPTIST (24 June, 29 Aug.): forerunner, martyr. It is always difficult to be certain which St. John is meant in early church dedication lists. Yet, by 1285, it seems that St. John the Baptist had two parish churches in the Porta S. Susanna (Iohannis de Mercato; Iohannis Rotundi), and one in the Porta S. Pietro (Iohannis de Foro) (Reform., §.xxii). The feast of the Baptist, on 24 June, was the main celebration for the rione of Porta Eburnea. In 1430, the Servites obtained municipal support (cf. Riccieri, p.421) for the St. John's day processions which they organised at their church in that ward. Civic officials, clerics, religious, scholars, and citizens, all bearing tapers took part.⁸⁹ Similar processions are recorded for the later 15th century. St. John the Baptist is named as a co-titulary of San Costanzo's in 1205;⁹⁰ his effigy was sculpted on the Fontana Maggiore in 1278;⁹¹ and his feast occurs in the municipal statutes of 1342.⁹² During the 14th century, there are signs that his cult was taking on civic importance. Although diplomatic relations with Florence (where the Baptist was a principal patron) may have played a part in this, the evidence points to a wholly Perugian

setting of warfare and internal disorder. Towards the end of Sept., 1310, it was decided to erect a chapel to the Baptist in the Duomo, in gratitude for a successful result to the recent war in the territory of Todi against "the Ghibellines"; the council of war had taken place in the church of San Giovanni di Varsciano and the decisive battle had been fought in the octave of the Baptist's feast.⁹³ In late Aug. or early Sept. of 1382, and attempted insurrection was crushed, and again, the grateful magistrates ordered that, besides a free annual distribution of grain to mark the event, the 29th of August, the feast of the decollation of St. John, should be an occasion for annual processions.⁹⁴ The 1383 processions involved the whole city, and, interestingly enough, were directed to the church of Sant' ~~El~~^{re} Polano, an indication of patriotic sentiment (Ricciari, p.397). At the close of our period, the chapel of the Cambio was dedicated to St. John, because his piazza church (de Mercato) had once stood there.⁹⁵ Countless images of this popular saint (e.g. Santi, p.15, no. 116; p.16, no. 123; p.17, no.71, etc.), lauds (Bar., pp.284-85), and a place on the so-called Besta Colomba plagga banner, offer convincing proof of a strong cult, including occasional links with the political history of the city.

St. JOHN the DIVINE (27 Dec.): apostle, evangelist.

The church of San Giovanni del Fosso in Porta Sole was dedicated to him; a parish church from 1236, the present building goes back to 1475 (Pedica, p.75). A 14th century laud in the saint's honor (Bar., p.277), and the presence of the saint on innumerable crucifixes (e.g. Santi, p.12, no.163) show universal veneration; a cult in Perugia, but no Perugian character to this cult.

St. JULIAN (uncertain which St. Julian is intended). In 1351 the Annali refer to the "festa di San Giuliano Avvocato di Perugia" (Riccieri, p. 392). Heywood speaks of some political disturbances in Jan. of 1351.⁹⁶ Also in 1500, a fraternita di s. Giuliano asks for charity, for a St. Julian martyr (Riccieri, p.460). Could this be the St. Julian martyr of 9 Jan.? A further St. Julian puzzle is discussed in Appendix A, Bib.Com.MS.E.46, ftnt.8.

St. JULIANA (16 Feb.): virgin-martyr. Her cult in Perugia, so far as it may be determined, was exclusively centered in the Cistercian nunnery of Santa Giuliana, which was founded in 1233. Her images, in fact, mostly come from this convent (e.g. Santi, p.7, no.43; p.15, no.116; p.25, no.166-70; but cf. p.9, no.32), and span the period from the later 13th century to the second half of the 15th.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, 1376 stands out in the story of her veneration, for on the 25th of August of that year, Abbess Gabriella Bontempi obtained the head relic of her convent's patron saint from the Dominicans of Perugia (inscriptions on a fresco-Santi, p.6, no.53 - and a reliquary - Santi, p.42, no.762 -⁹⁸ commemorate this event, and the latter especially emphasizes that the Dominican gift was freely made.) It is not known when the Dominicans acquired this relic, but they are supposed to have acquired it from Naples.⁹⁹ No evidence of continued Dominican veneration. (For further discussion, see Appendix A, EUL.MS.29).

St. LAWRENCE (10 Aug.): deacon, martyr. A cult of persistent civic importance in Perugia; this Roman saint had long been accepted as one of Perugia's chief advocates, to be invoked jointly with St. Herculaneus and other communal patrons (cf. Appendix B).

Yet, to a great extent, the cult of St. Lawrence in Perugia is inseparable from the history of San Lorenzo, the city's Duomo.¹⁰⁰ Scholars believe that there was probably a church of San Lorenzo on the site before it became the cathedral (in the 10th century?). Documentary evidence for the cathedral exists from the 11th century. In 1189 we first learn that the canons of the cathedral had embraced the Augustinian rule.¹⁰¹ It does not seem to be known for certain exactly when (in the 12th century?) St. Herculanus became a co-titulary of the Duomo. An altar to St. Lawrence was consecrated by the anti-pope Calixtus III (1168-78), while "Innocentius papa tertius consecravat altare beati Herculani Perusini, ubi multorum sanctorum celebri devotione reliquias recondidit, totam ecclesiam cathedralem beati Laurentii Perusini pariter consecrando."¹⁰² Innocent III died in Perugia in 1216. Some European chroniclers reported that "in ecclesia sancti Laurentii honorifice tumulatur," and others that "sepultus est in ecclesia sancti Herculani,"¹⁰³ but this was the same church. When Pope Martin IV, in 1285, "cantavit missam in civitate Perusina," he did so "in ecclesia maiori dicte civitatis, scilicet in ecclesia sancti Laurentii et Herculani."¹⁰⁴ Even after construction on St. Herculanus's own church had begun in 1297, this joint dedication was still referred to.¹⁰⁵ Joint civic patronage was thus a natural development from co-titular association.

Although in 1300 it was agreed that a new cathedral should be constructed on the same site,¹⁰⁶ and Pope Clement VI issued indulgences for those contributing to the fabric in 1343,¹⁰⁷ it was only in 1345 that work on the new structure actually began.

On the 20th of August of that year, within the octave of the important communal feast of the Assumption, papal indulgences were conceded again, processions were held in which the laity and clergy of the town participated, and the foundation stone of a new church of San Lorenzo was laid,¹⁰⁸ Construction proceeded slowly, however, with many appeals for funds being made,¹⁰⁹ and only in the second half of the Quattrocento did the work of building gather momentum,¹¹⁰ reaching its more or less finished state c.1492 (Pèdica, p.15). As a result of Baglioni bloodshed "San Lorenzo was washed with wine, and was consecrated afresh" on 17 July, 1500.¹¹¹

What must be stressed, for it is fundamental to the civic veneration of St. Lawrence, is the role of the church ^{of} ~~at~~ San Lorenzo, its campanile and piazza, in the medieval life of Perugia. Throughout the 13th century, matters of governance, war, and peace were discussed within the cathedral precincts.¹¹² At the foot of the campanile del Duomo (destroyed c.1374-75),¹¹³ civic ceremonies were habitually transacted, the most significant of which were the ritual acts of submission and tribute of subject cities, territories, and lords. Here is where newly defeated towns were made to acknowledge their humiliation and to show homage.¹¹⁴ Trophies of victory might be placed on the cathedral walls, pictures of those guilty of infamous conduct might be painted there, and an occasional execution held in the cathedral piazza.¹¹⁵ San Lorenzo was the locus of the commune's sense of solidarity.

Nevertheless, the cult of St. Lawrence extended beyond the area of the cathedral, into major symbols of corporate identity.

The martyred Roman deacon appears on the Fontana Maggiore (1278), the Maesta delle Volta (1297), and the Portale Maggiore (c.1346-53).¹¹⁶ On the municipal statutes of 1347, his feast is, of course, recorded.¹¹⁷ Whenever images of Perugia's advocates and protectors were required, as for the Prior's Palace in 1476,¹¹⁸ or the Prior's Chapel in 1495,¹¹⁹ St. Lawrence's image would be included.

Civic festivities in honor of the saint seem to have become relatively more common in the later 14th century; in 1392, the palio run on the feast of St. Lawrence, which had not been held for some time, was revived, but for the territory of Bevagna, not for Perugia itself.¹²⁰ Again in 1383, a palio was permitted; and from 1394 to 1488 we hear a good deal of processions with tapers, the distribution of wax on his feast day, and so on. Yet it may be significant that in 1394 there are hints that his procession had not been on the same scale as those to Saints Herculanius and Constantius,¹²¹ and in 1439 the Annali speak of his procession being (newly?) re-instituted (riccieri, pp. 396, 397, 409, 425, 429, 434, 438). The cost in 1488 "pro lumine facto in die festivitatis s. Laurentii" amounted to fl.47, sol.25.¹²²

Because the cult of St. Lawrence was bound up with the affirmation of loyalties to Perugia, the arti of the city would frequently invoke the saint in the preamble to their statutes and also depict him in accompanying miniatures. The 1366 statutes of the arte dei pittori do so, and say, in conclusion, that according to the usual custom their ordinances were confirmed "in ecclesia

sancti Laurentii".¹²³ The fishmongers, swordmakers, woolcarders, goldsmiths, and many other guilds, respectfully refer to St. Lawrence.¹²⁴

The importance of the saint in the Perugian program may also be demonstrated by the many lauds in his honor, some of which combine both religious sentiment and attachment to the welfare of the city.¹²⁵ Images of St. Lawrence range from the 13th century frescoes of San Bevignate¹²⁶ to plague banners of the 15th; from a 14th century panel made for the abbot of Montelabate, in which Lawrence and Paul form two sides of one table, matching another of Herculaneus and Peter (Santi, p.11, nos.25, 28), to a 15th century reredos made for an altar dedicated to San Lorenzo (commissioned by the heirs of Lorenzo di Ser Giovanni).¹²⁷ Here, as with so many widely represented saints, it is not necessary to attempt a complete catalogue of images. Whatever doubts historians may express about the mode of martyrdom of the Roman deacon,¹²⁸ Lawrence's grill was iconographically familiar to the Perugians. Veneration towards St. Lawrence was a vital part of the hagiographic program of the city. In the roster of Perugian saint cults, his belongs in the first-rank. The universality of his cult is inconsequential within the Perugian context; to the Perugians, he was not a Roman, but one of their own.

St. LAZARUS (14 March): bishop. The cult of this St. Lazarus (the mid-15th century Bishop of Milan, currently honored on 11 Feb) enjoys only one moment of glory in Perugia. Evidently, on St. Lazarus's day in 1385, the Perugians recovered Fratta and Montone from the Michelotti rebels and thus decided to commemorate the occasion with annual processions, never referred to again (Ricciari, p.398).¹²⁹

St. LEONARD (6 Nov.): monk. Sole indication of cult is a 13th century fresco in San Prospero (Kaf., col.689).¹³⁰

St. LUCY (13 Dec.): virgin-martyr. Titulary of two parish churches, which are extant before 1275, one in Porta Sole and one in Porta S. Pietro (ASP, pp.116-17). A nunnery dedicated to her existed in Porta S. Angelo (Riccieri, pp.386, 446). A 14th century laud (Bar., p.276) and representation in 15th century stained glass (Santi-Guida, p.87) show interest in her cult. Pellini records that on St.Lucy's day in 1486 Madonna Drusolina, the daughter of Braccio Baglione, went to her parish church of Santa Lucia to hear Mass.¹³¹ A cult of little apparent significance for the city as a whole.

St. LUKE (19 Oct.): evangelist. Titulary of a hospital mentioned in the first half of the 14th century (Rat., 910) and of a church in Porta S. Susanna, transferred to the Knights of the Holy Sepulcher after 1187 (Pèdica, pp.71-72). Possibly, the reference to the hospital is actually for the church. The church, at least in the 15th century, was usually crowded on the 14th of July, when it enjoyed a plenary indulgence.¹³² The inventio of the relics of St. Herculanius at Castello d'Antignola (found on St. Luke's day in 1378?) was given as the reason for annual processions on the feast of St. Luke (mentioned in the Annali, 1379), celebrations which come up again only in 1385 (Riccieri, pp.394-95, 398). Doubtless, aside from this occasion of indirect homage, the cult of St. Luke carried little weight for the entire city. But for notaries, this was a different matter; St. Luke was their patron. The arte notaria was active in Perugia from 1305, when the commune paid for a lecturer on the subject.¹³³ The seal of the Perugian notaries contains an effigy of St. Luke;¹³⁴ and the same saint, industriously carrying out his notarial labors, is shown between the angel of the Annunciation and the Virgin, in a Bonfigli painting (1455-60) which used to hang in the Udiienza dei Notari (cf. Santi, p.22, no. 138). Scholars at the University of Perugia also had reason to remember the saint. His feast began the academic year.¹³⁵ There is a laud to St. Luke (Bar., p.285).

St. MARGARET (20 July): virgin-martyr. A nunnery in or near Perugia bearing the name of this saint is mentioned in 1282.¹³⁶ A porta s. Margherita dates from the 14th century (Santi-Guida,

p. 150). St. Margaret's feast occurs in the 1342 municipal statutes;¹³⁷ she has a laud (Bar., p. 294); and there are cantari agiografici directed to her (published in Perugia c.1535).¹³⁸ Seemingly, her cult was a comparatively minor one in Perugia.

St. MARK (25 April): evangelist. A laud is the sole indication of regard (Bar., p.283), despite the ties between Perugia and Venice in the 14th and 15th centuries.¹³⁹

St. MARTHA (29 July): virgin. Images: 13th century fresco at Montelabbate,¹⁴⁰ and 1488 canvas, now in the Duomo.¹⁴¹

St. MARTIN (11 Nov.): bishop. Titulary of two Perugian parish churches; San Martino del Verzaro in Porta S. Angelo (described as "antichissimo"), which in 1257 came under the jurisdiction of Santa Guiliama, and later passed into the hands of the cathedral chapter (Pedica, p.87); and San Martino di Colle in Porta S. Pietro, cited in 1275 (ASP, p.116-17). At least from 1367, there was a chapel to St. Martin in Sant' Agostino.¹⁴² His feast, probably because of his dedications, occurs in the 1342 statutes.¹⁴³ There is also a laud in honor of the great bishop (Bar., p.285). In 1363 a Perugian victory fell on his feast day, and occasioned civic celebration (Pedica, p.87). Otherwise, the cult of St. Martin does not seem to have provoked great enthusiasm in later medieval Perugia.

St. MARY MAGDALEN (22 July): penitent. Saxer, who has made the most comprehensive study of the cult of this saint, believes that "en Italie on ne semble jamais avoir ete tres fervent envers la

Madeleine."¹⁴⁴ Yet, in Perugia, judging from the available evidence, St. Mary Magdalen must be considered a popular saint, for purely religious, as distinct from patriotic reasons. Saxer bases too much of his assessment of fervor on sanctuary dedications; this is far from being the most reliable sign of veneration in the later medieval period. Still, already constructed in 1295 was an 'oratorio' dedicated to the Magdalen in Porta Sole, described as being 'loci fratrum de penitentia'.¹⁴⁵ By 1382, a nunnery of Santa Maria Maddalena had been established in Porta S. Pietro, built and funded at the public expense.¹⁴⁶ The seal from this convent shows its titular saint holding up a model of the nuns' church.¹⁴⁷ In 1297, an altar named in honor of the Magdalen existed in the church of San Francesco al Prato.¹⁴⁸ The 13th century, with its widespread interest in penitence, and particularly Perugia, where the movement of the flagellants began, found the Magdalen an appropriate symbol of the penitential life. Iconographic evidence of veneration can be adduced from the 13th to 15th centuries;¹⁴⁹ lauds from the 13th¹⁵⁰ and 14th centuries (*Par.*, p. 234); and other kinds of religious verse, having the saint as subject, can be verified from the early 16th century, but may well be older.¹⁵¹ St. Mary Magdalen, so far as Perugia was concerned, was a saint of personal religious experience rather than of collective political identity.

St. MATTHEW (21 Sept.): apostle, evangelist. A chapel, perhaps dating back to the 11th century, was called San Matteo in Campodorto (in Porta S. Susanna); in 1256 the Franciscans managed to obtain it from the Camaldolese of Fonte Avellana.¹⁵² There

was also another San Matteo, just outside the Porta S. Angelo, which was consecrated in 1273.¹⁵³ A 13th century fresco of its titular saint adorned one of the walls. In 1380, the Basilian monks, whose church it was, held their chapter-general there.¹⁵⁴ St. Matthew appears in representations of the apostles. He has a Perugian laud (Bar., p.285). The cult in Perugia of this universal saint did not involve civic sentiment.

St. MATTHIAS (24 Feb.): apostle. Aside from a laud (Bar., p.278), veneration towards this saint manifests itself once only, in 1389, where his feast is ranked with those of Saints Herculaneus and Constantius, as 'solemnly celebrated' (Ricciardi, p.399). That year, there was risk of public disorder, and on popular festivals citizens were not permitted to bear arms. Helpfully, Pellini explains why St. Matthias should be found in such exalted company: the saint's feast happened to fall on carnival day.¹⁵⁵

St. MAURUS (15 Jan.): abbot. One of the most illustrious disciples of St. Benedict, St. Maurus would be honored wherever the Benedictine Order or its monastic descendants flourished. On the Fontana Maggiore of 1278, St. Maurus kneels at the feet of St. Benedict.¹⁵⁶ Again, in 1505, Raphael painted him alongside of Saints Placidus and Benedict, in the order grouping of Benedictine and Camaldolese saints which Perugino completed in 1521 (church of San Severo: cf. Guida, p.91).

St. MICHAEL (29 Sept., 8 May): archangel. Although his cult and reputation extended throughout Christendom, St. Michael was particularly venerated in early medieval Italy, and the Umbrian region, with

its many churches, chapels, and oratories dedicated to him, may be considered the home of some of the saint's most fervent admirers. The early medieval cult of San^c Angelo, whether promoted by Lombard or Greek influence,¹⁵⁷ need not detain us. This long established, traditional cult seems to have suffered a relative decline in its importance in the hagiographic program of later medieval Perugia, despite convincing evidence of continuing popular esteem. A church dedicated to the Archangel in the Porta Eburnea rione may be documented from 1037 (Pedica, p.33) and is described as a parish church in 1275 (ASP, pp.116-17). But the major church of St. Michael in Perugia was located in the Porta S. Angelo. Built in the late 5th century and reconstructed between the 10th and 11th, this circular church was said to have been the recipient of indulgences from Boniface VIII in 1297.¹⁵⁸ During the later Middle Ages, the story of the foundation of this venerable church was mingled with the legend of Roland; Roland came to Perugia, pitched his camp on the site of the future church, killed a pagan leader, and rescued Oliver and a lady in distress. The Perugian lady then requested that the bishop build a church on the spot in honor of St. Michael "perche Orlando disse, che l'angelo l'havea mandato a Perugia per liberarla dalle mano di quel Pagano." The bishop did so, and built the church in the form of a knightly pavilion.¹⁵⁹ While, in this story, St. Michael becomes a veritable protector of Perugia, the note of civic gratitude towards him is not heard again. Yet, it is true that on the Fontana Maggiore of 1278, St. Michael appears in a highly patriotic setting: his effigy is placed between that of Eulistes, legendary founder of Perugia, and Matteo da Correggio, the current podesta.¹⁶⁰

In 1205, the Archangel was cited as a co-titulary of the church of San Costanzo.¹⁶¹ There was also a chapel dedicated to him in the church of San Domenico, for here Colomba da Rieti went to pray on 2 Sept., 1495, with many Perugian matrons, while the Baglioni were fighting to defend the city against the exiles.¹⁶² St. Michael was always a military saint. Because St. Michael had the obligation of conducting departed souls to God and because of his association with the Last Judgement, he played an important part in medieval spirituality. St. Francis, a good Umbrian, was devoted to him,¹⁶³ St. Michael figures in the legenda of the 1260 flagellants' movement,¹⁶⁴ and he is the subject of lauds on his respective holidays (Bar., pp.283, 285). From 1385, to 1459, there are several references in the Annali to processions to his church in Porta S. Angelo on either 8 May or 29 Sept., to "great devotion," to indulgences, and to bequests of wax (Riccieri, pp.398, 427, 428, 437, 438). Images of St. Michael seem to be few and late, mostly 15th century (e.g. Santi, p.26, no.178-79). It is probably St. Michael, not St. Raphael, on a post-1429 gonfalone (cf. Santi-Guida, p.85). The themes of warfare, death, and judgement, account for his appearances on plague banners.

St. NICHOLAS (6 Dec.): bishop. Titulary of two parish churches, one, antedating 1262 in the Porta S. Susanna (Reform., p.xxii), and one, extant in 1275 (ASP, pp.116-17), in the Porta Eburnea. Hence his feast occurs in the municipal statutes of 1342.¹⁶⁵

Named as co-titulary of San Costanzo's in 1205,¹⁶⁶ St. Nicholas could claim several altar and chapel dedications in Perugian churches (e.g. San Stephano's, San Severo's).¹⁶⁷ Images include

a 1225 fresco at San Prospero's¹⁶⁸ and a predella from San Dominico's dating from around 1453 (Santi, p.22, no.140-41). There is a laud for his feast day (Bar., p.276). A well-established, but, by no means, major cult.

St. ONUPHRIUS (12 June): hermit. The Annali say that a chapel, dedicated to this saint, was located 'nella volta del Campo della Battaglia'; in 1382, it is described as ruined (Ricciari, p.396). An oratory of St.Onuphrius was built in the Duomo in 1484 (Santi-Guida, p.39).¹⁶⁹ Signorelli depicted St.Onuphrius in a painting executed for the oratory.¹⁷⁰

Sts. PETER and PAUL (29 June): apostles. Since veneration towards both apostles occurred simultaneously on their joint feast day, it seems natural to look at their common cult in Perugia, before going on to consider the cult of each saint individually.

The two apostles may be found in a coherently arranged sequence of figures on the west side of the Fontana Maggiore (1278). The symbolism of this arrangement also illustrates the meaning of their cult in Perugia. The sequence includes five figures: S.Petrus; Ecclesia Romana; Roma; Divinitas Excelsa; S.Paulus.¹⁷¹ Politically, this amounts to an assertion of civic loyalties towards Christian Romanitas and the Papacy. Reverence towards Peter and Paul must be seen in this context as an affirmation of allegiance to the Guelf cause. When, as frequently happened in the later Middle Ages, relations with Rome or Avignon had deteriorated into open conflict, the political overtones in the cult of the two apostles remained. In the 1370 peace treaty between the Papacy and Perugia, among the terms which the latter party was forced to observe was an annual tribute to the reigning pontiff, Urban V, of 3,000 fiorini d'oro, to be paid on the feast of Saints Peter and Paul.¹⁷²

Another conflict which began in 1375, ended with articles of peace in 1379; again, in the provisions, was an annual tribute of the same value as the 1370 stipulations, to Urban VI this time, but also due on 29 June.¹⁷³ With the return of papal overlordship after 1424, the civic veneration of the two apostles seems to have quickened. In 1456, annual processions on their feast day were instituted and directed to the monastery of San Pietro's.¹⁷⁴ The next year saw their images ordered for a Corpus Christi shrine at the Palazzo dei Priori; significantly, the other saints who would ~~stand~~ ^{stand} beside them were Herculanus, Lawrence, and Constantius (Riccieri, p.435). Processions were re-instituted in 1458, mentioned in 1459 (ibid., pp.436, 438) and ordered once more in 1467, when it was acknowledged that the processions had lapsed, and that the papal governor wanted to see them resumed.¹⁷⁵

There are further bits of information which indicate that veneration towards the two apostles was usually expressed when relations with the Papacy were reasonably good; that such information comes from corporate bodies, but not the city magistrates, testifies to a general climate of opinion. Thus in 1298 the guild of swordmakers introduced their matricola:

In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus, amen.
 Ad honorem et reverentiam omnipotentis Dei
 et gloriose Virginis Marie matris eius et
 beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et
 gloriosorum martirum Laurentii, Herculani,
 atque Constantii, protectorum et defensorum
 civitatis Perusii eiusque comitatûs et districtus..
 et ad honorem et reverentiam sancte romane
 Ecclesie summiq[ue] Pontificis...

In 1336, the statutes of the arte dei pittori invoke Saints Peter

and Paul,¹⁷⁷ while slightly before this date the abbey church of Montelabate had paintings of Saints Lawrence (recto) and Paul (verso); and Herculanus (recto), Peter (verso) (cf. Santi, p.11, nos. 25, 28). In 1403, the Franciscans entered into possession of their new four panelled altar-piece. Along with other saints, this work shows the Virgin and Child; Francis with Herculanus and Constantius; Peter; Paul - a full statement of religious, civic and political loyalties. Now 1403 was precisely the year when the Visconti alliance failed the Perugians, and the city, however temporarily, re-submitted to papal authority.¹⁷⁸

St. PAUL (25 Jan.): At least from 1275, there was a parish church dedicated to him in the Porta S. Pietro (ASP, pp.116-17). Of course there are lauds (e.g. Bar., p.278), and images of him as well;¹⁷⁹ and on the 25th Jan., 1377, the (Servite) Annunciation confraternity appropriately performed a sacra rappresentazione on the story of his conversion.¹⁸⁰ His feast is mentioned in the Annali of 1459 (Ricciari, p.437).

St. PETER (22 Feb., 1 Aug.): St. Peter had for centuries been the patron of a Perugian church. At one time, his church had served as the Duomo. Pope Gregory the Great refers (c.545) to this early church of St. Peter's as the cathedral of Perugia.¹⁸¹ From the second half of the 10th century, the great local shrine of the Prince of the Apostles had been the monastery of San Pietro's, which continued to play a leading role in Perugia's affairs throughout the medieval period.¹⁸² The Porta S. Pietro,

one of the wards of the city (the place-name may be documented from the mid-12th century),¹⁸³ took its title from the abbey.

In 1266¹⁸⁴ there is a reference to a fountain named after St. Peter.

Both the feasts of St. Peter's Chair and St. Peter's Chains appear in the 1342 municipal statutes.¹⁸⁵ The Annali of 1389 indicate

that the feast of St. Peter's Chair was popularly observed

(Ricciari, p.400). A fraternitas s. Petri Apostoli existed from 1387.¹⁸⁶

When, in 1408, Perugia became subject to the authority of Ladislas of Naples, who had already become master of Rome, the Perugians 'to the honor of God and of the Apostle Peter' ordained processions 'on St. Peter's feast' to mark the transfer of power (Ricciari, p.412), negotiated at Rome on the 29th of June.¹⁸⁷

Gregory XII would not have found the choice of saint in the best of taste. The 14th century statutes of the mercanzia give

St. Peter pride of place (with the usual civic patrons).¹⁸⁸ Before Oct., 1388, there was a gilded image of St. Peter on top of San Pietro's campanile.¹⁸⁹

St. SCHOLASTICA (10 Feb): virgin, abbess. The sister of St. Benedict would be venerated in Perugia wherever Benedictinism held sway (cf. Vaf., col.993).

St. SEBASTIAN (20 Jan.): martyr. In the early 14th century there was a pieve s. Sebastiano in the contado of Perugia (Rat., 1375), but the real importance of the saint began with the plague.

Ricci speaks of a St. Sebastian confraternity from the mid-14th century,¹⁹⁰ which may be too early, since the evidence points rather to the second half of the 15th century as the era in which the cult developed. Surviving works of art and the testimony of

the Annali support this view. On the whole, the years in which the Annali refer to him (1453-60; 1480-86) were years either of plague or threat of plague. During this time, processions to solicit the aid of God and his saint were held almost as a matter of routine. Because of great popular enthusiasm towards St. Sebastian for plague cures received, the magistrates in 1455 ordered processions in his honor, 'so that he would free the city from this danger.' As devotion came especially from the Porta S. Angelo - where the plague found many victims and where the saint's confraternity was based, the magistrates directed the processions to the rione's church of Sant' Agostino, in which St. Sebastian had a chapel (Ricciari, p.433). On the saint's feast day, the city granted wax to his confraternity (ibid., pp.435, 438). An image of the saint was included in his chapel (ibid., p.450) - but representations of this famous specialist were fairly common in later 15th century Umbrian art (e.g. Santi, p.27, no.435, etc.),¹⁹¹ and it is indeed exceptional to find him missing from plague-banners. The gonfalone in the church of Santa Croce not only portrays the saint but, by means of an inscription, implores his help.¹⁹² He could be an individual patron in need, and also a patron for the entire city, when it suffered; plague not politics dictated his cult, whose origins in Perugia as elsewhere, long preceded the events of 1348.

St. SILVESTER (31 Dec.): pope. A parish church located in Porta S. Pietro was dedicated to this saint; it was one of the most ancient Perugian churches (documentation cited from 1163).¹⁹³ This church received a civic bequest in 1313 (Ricciari, p.388); and in 1472, because it was believed that St. Herculaneus had once made his residence there and in an adjoining house, the church

was granted funds for restoration.¹⁹⁴ As a church titulary, St. Silvester earned a place in the municipal statutes of 1347.¹⁹⁵ He also can claim an image (1225: at San Prospero's)¹⁹⁶ and a laud (Bar., p.277). Yet veneration towards the papal saint who had reputedly merited the donation of Constantine seems to have attracted rather few Perugians.

St. SIMON (28 Oct.): apostle, martyr. Titulary of a parish church in Porta Sole which antedates 1275 (ASF, pp.116-17) and of which his fellow apostle St. Jude was co-titulary; towards the end of the 13th century, it became the Carmelite's church (Pedica, p.55). The city, in 1447, acceded to a request for funds for the fabric (Piccioli, p.429). Together with St. Florentius, St. Simon was patron of a confraternity. There are lauds to show devotion (Bar., p.235, etc.)¹⁹⁷ but the cult does not seem to have excited much enthusiasm in the city.

St. SIXTUS (6 Aug): pope and martyr. Titulary of a church in Porta S. Susanna which is mentioned in 1334 (Ret., 2351). Since Perugia accepted the precious relic of the Sant' Anello on 6 Aug., 1473, and the reigning pontiff was Sixtus IV, it seemed that St. Sixtus and the heavenly host approved of the relic passing into perugian hands.¹⁹⁹ The slight evidence of cult is somewhat curious as the martyrdom of St. Lawrence and that of St. Sixtus II were believed to be associated.²⁰⁰

St. STEPHEN (2 Aug., 26 Dec.): deacon, protomartyr. In Perugia, the choice of St. Stephen as a church patron was a popular one. Indeed, the 1235 roster of perugian parishes credits him with

the title of four churches: one in Porta S. Susanna; two in Porta S. Pietro; and one in Porta Lburnea (Reform., pp.xxii-iii). The Dominicans continued to be associated with this saint and his cult. They first built an oratory to him in Porta S. Pietro; later came into control of the pieve dedicated to him in the same ward; and finally made him official titular of their own church which was located in the same quarter (consecrated in 1459, and usually called San Tomenico's).²⁰¹ There was a chapel dedicated to him in the church of San Lorenzo (Pèdica, p.16). As St. Lawrence and St. Stephen had both been martyred deacons, this dedication brings together two saints frequently grouped in art and legend.²⁰² For the city, however, the cult of St. Stephen was initially related to a specialized patronage of need which found expression in the Annali of 1276-77, the statutes of 1279, and the statutes of 1342: the saint who had died by stoning would evidently protect against hail. 'Because of the great damage which hail has done, the feast of St. Stephen should be solemnly kept, also in the contado,' (Ricciari, p.307). In 1279, this decision entered the statute books:

Ad evitandum omnem pestem et omnem aquam nocivam, que grando generaliter appellatur, dicimus et ordinamus, quod festivitas et octava beatissimi protomartiris Sancti Stephani de natali (i.e. his 26 Dec. feast, as one would expect) ab omnibus hominibus...de civitate et comitatu ^{Perusini} cum omni reverentia custodiatur. (etc).²⁰³

Such reverence involved strict work abstention, enforced by stiff penalties for violators. The 1342 statutes voice the same sentiments, but more succinctly, and in the vernacular.²⁰⁴ The feast of 26 Dec. naturally occurs in these statutes but also the feast of 3 Aug. (the invention of his relics).²⁰⁵ The

explanation lies in the close links between the Perugian Dominicans and St. Stephen. The presching friars of the city had received a plenary indulgence which came on 2 Aug.; at San Domenico's, officially consecrated to St. Stephen, the two feasts would follow in sequence.²⁰⁶ Thus, at vespers on 1 Aug. 1313, the magistrates and corporations of the city processed, with candles, to San Domenico's both to honor the relics of St. Stephen which had been placed in the protomartyr's altar in that church, and to acknowledge the indulgence which the church had been granted (Riccieri, p.389). The Dominicans included an image of St. Stephen in their great stained glass window (Santi-Guida, p.98). There is a 13th century fresco of the saint²⁰⁷ and a laud (Bar., p.277). Altogether an interesting example of a municipal special patronage, and an older cult partially promoted by a new religious order.

St. SUSANNA (11 Aug.): virgin-martyr. A ward of the city was named after her, and Pellini declares that the Perugians dedicated to St. Francis an ancient church once placed under her patronage.²⁰⁸ No other indication of cult.

St. THOMAS (21 Dec.): apostle. Around 1332-34, hospitals dedicated to the apostle Thomas were found in the Porta S. Pietro and the Porta Eburnea (Ret., 1257, 971). Pellini refers to the church of San Tommaso of Porta Sole in connection with a discussion of events in 1371.²⁰⁹ To this church came processions in the saint's honor held in 1456.²¹⁰ For reasons which are not immediately apparent, the Annali of 1456 call St. Thomas "grande intercessore per il pacifico stato nobile," while at the same time putting a

a Marian emphasis on his cult, by referring to the holy girdle, a non-Perugian relic (Vicciari, p.437). Annual processions are mentioned in 1459, 1460; re-instituted and made perpetual in 1472 (*ibid.*, pp.437, 447).²¹¹ He was the patron of a chapel in Sant' Agostino's (cf. anti, p.14, no.67); he could lay claim to a laud (Bar., p.276); but the precise significance of this relatively minor cult is somewhat obscure.

St. VICTOR (27 July?): pope, martyr.

On 27 July 1365 the Perugians fought and won a battle near Castello San Mariano; not long afterwards, the citizens resolved to honor the saint on whose day they had been victorious with a church to be located at the place where the triumph was obtained. This good intention does not appear to have been carried out.²¹²

Roster of Saints Venerated in Perugia: Old Regional Saints²¹³

St. CRISPOLTUS (12 May): bishop, martyr. St.Crispoltus (3rd century?) was the most famous local patron of Bettona, a town about 23 Km. from Perugia. He was also venerated in Assisi, where a monastery was dedicated to him, but his cult was pretty much confined to "the Bettona-Assisi region".²¹⁴ In 1266, the Perugians were asked to mediate a dispute between Bettona and Assisi over the relics of this saint. The ambassadors of Assisi accused the men of Bettona of spiriting away relics of St.Crispoltus belonging to them, which the latter denied. The outcome is not known, but in 1269 Assisi was at war against Bettona, and Pellini thinks that the affair of the relics still rankled.²¹⁵ Perugia, asked to arbitrate the dispute of 1266 and to help Assisi in 1269 (Riccieri, p.382), captured St. Crispoltus's relics for herself in 1352. Perugia was then involved in a war with the Visconti, whose agents, coming from Cortona, had successfully invaded Perugian territory and taken Bettona. For this conquest, the Perugians blamed the treachery of Messer Crispolto de' Crispolti, called the signore of Bettona. After a siege of nearly two months, Bettona capitulated,²¹⁶ The Perugians set fire to the town, destroyed its walls, carried off 153 male prisoners, including Messer Crispolto (who was publicly beheaded in the piazza of San Lorenzo), and, as a trophy of victory, they took the bones of the local saint, which were deposited in the Duomo of Perugia. St. Crispoltus resided in Perugia from 1352 to 1371. Finally, Perugia was forced to make restitution. Cardinal Albornoz had commanded the return of the relics, and at long last the papal legate of Gregory XI managed to get their saint restored to the citizens of Bettona (February, 1371).²¹⁷

St. DIGNAMERITA (22 Sept.): virgin-martyr. Known also as St. Emerita, this Roman martyr can claim some iconographic evidence of cult in Perugia (cf. Kaf., cols. 397-400). Her image is also requested on a contract made with Pinturicchio in 1495.²¹⁸

St. DONATUS (7 Aug.): bishop and martyr. Patron of Arezzo. Titulary of two Perugian parish churches, one in the porta S. Angelo and one in the Porta S. Pietro (also known as St. Arrigo^{Errico}, or Rigo)²¹⁹ both extant before 1275 (ASP, pp. 116-17). The Perugians, when they were laying siege to Arezzo in 1336, caused a palio to be run on the saint's day, in order to shame the citizens of the besieged city who would thus see their own patriotic ritual irreverently appropriated by others.²²⁰ Perugia could respect St. Donatus at home and mock him abroad.

St. EUSEBIUS (1 Aug.): bishop and martyr. Was it the Bishop of Vercelli, found in a late 11th century Perugian breviary,²²¹ who was the St. Eusebius named as a co-titulary of San Costanzo's in 1205?²²²

St. FELIX (12 July): martyr. The Perugian cult of this Milanese saint (who with St. Nabor was martyred in the time of Diocletian) seems to have begun in 1417, when, to commemorate the first anniversary of the battle of Sant'Egidio (12 July 1416) in which he defeated Carlo Malatesta of Rimini and became signore of Perugia, the condottiero Braccio di Montone ordered that the ambassadors of fourteen subject towns and cities should then come to Perugia and make their homage, and offer palii. His letter to the Orvietans began:

Haviamo deliberato che a di xii del mese di
luglio, nel quale è la gloriosa festa del

beato s. Felice, si faccia una divota e
solenne festa ne la nostra città de Perosgia.²²³

The Orvietans were required to offer 'uno palio de veluto di fiorini cinquanta di valuta' or face threats of grave displeasure.²²⁴ Of course by emphasizing this feast, rather than that of the patron St.Herculanus, Braccio was shifting attention from the corporate community of Perugia to the personal glory and victory of its signore. On 12 July, 1422 the ceremonies of St.Felix's day were still being performed: the assembly of the representatives of subject towns; presentation of palii; processions; Mass in the main piazza. Also, a special 'compagnia' had been formed for the occasion, called the Compagnia di s. Felice.²²⁵ After the death of Braccio in 1424, such observances appear to have ceased.

St. FORTUNATUS (14 Oct.): bishop. The patron of Todi (if it is indeed this Fortunatus who is meant) had a parish church in the Porta S. Angelo, recorded in 1275 (ASP, pp.116-17). The Sylvestrines seem to have acquired the church in 1374.²²⁶

St. GALGANUS (3 Dec.): hermit. This Sienese saint may have had a nunnery dedicated to him c.1316 in Porta S. Susanna (Ricciari, p.389).

St. ILLUMINATA (29 Nov.): virgin-martyr. Only indication of veneration for this saint, whose cult was centred at Todi, is a 1225 fresco at San Prospero's (cf. Kaf., col.565).

St. LIBERATOR (26 Aug.): abbot, martyr. In Perugia, the Augustinians maintained a cult for this Carthaginian martyr to the Vandals (cf. Santi, p.16, no.123; Kaf. col.692).

St. MUSTIOLA (3 July): virgin or matron; martyr. Titulary of a nunnery in Chiusi (where the center of her cult was located)²²⁷ which had ties with the civic authorities of Perugia in the late 13th century (cf. Riccieri, p.386); also, there was a church dedicated to her in the Porta S. Susanna c.1332-34 (Rat., 1332, etc.). Her cult in Perugia was connected with the Sant'Anello, the ring with which it was believed St. Joseph had espoused the Virgin Mary. St. Mustiola's iconographic attribute was, in fact, this ring. She had received the attribute because her church in Chiusi had held the Sant'Anello until 1350, when it was transferred by the magistrates of Chiusi to their cathedral; the canons of her church wanted the ring returned to them; iconography was a means of asserting their claim to the precious relic. Even in Perugia, she was shown holding the Sant'Anello at the end of a length of string.²²⁸ When the Sant'Anello was stolen from Chiusi and brought to Perugia (1473), devotion to St. Mustiola revived and images of her — and of the ring which now belonged to Perugia — multiplied. In Chiusi, her relics were invented in 1474.²²⁹ (Cf. also Kaf., col.796-97.)

St. PROSPER (25 June, 25 Nov.): bishop. The 5th century Bishop of Regio in Emilia was titular of an ancient (8th century?)²³⁰ church in the Porta Eburnea of Perugia, in which his image (dated 1225) appears (cf. Kaf., cols.945-8). Evidence of cult for St. Prosper seems to be rare in Umbria,²³¹ and his cult in Perugia was ignored by Meretti.²³²

St. SAVINUS (9 Feb.): bishop. It is difficult to know which Sabinus or Savinus was honored with church dedications in Perugia, i.e., one parish church in the Porta S. Pietro and one in the Porta Eburnea

(ASP, pp.116-17: for 1275). The Bishop of Canos^sa had been a friend of St.Benedict; yet there was also a Sabinus reputed to have been a Bishop of Assisi (30 Dec.).²³³

St. SEVERUS (1 Feb.): bishop. St.Severus, the 4th century Bishop of Ravenna, was known in later medieval Perugia through his church dedications and images. One of his churches was located in the Porta Sole, and belonged to the Camaldolese monks, perhaps from the 11th century (Pèdica, p.29). Another church dedicated to the same saint was called San Severo della Piazza, and its existence may be documented from the 12th century.²³⁴ The commune, however, needed the grounds of this church for the expansion of public buildings. Therefore, San Severo della Piazza was (c.1317) ceded to the city and ultimately demolished. Henceforward St.Severus becomes co-titulary of the church of St.Agatha.²³⁵ Images of the saint are associated with his churches (cf. Kaf., col.1024ff). There is also a laud (Bar., p.278).

St. SPERANDIUS (?). It does not seem likely that the patron saint of this monastery located outside the Porta S. Angelo and referred to in 1282²³⁶ could be the Bl.Sperandeo of Gubbio (d.1261)²³⁷ Could the name have developed from Spera in Dio?

St. UBALDUS (16 May): bishop. There seems to be very little evidence of veneration for the sainted Bishop of Gubbio (d.1160, can.1192) in Perugia. He figures in a 1495 contract for an altar-table,²³⁸ but this seems to be all. Would his cult have been too tainted with foreign civic sentiment to be received in a city which appreciated the strict ties between a pastor and his own flock?

St. VALENTINE (14 Feb.): bishop, martyr. Probably it was St. Valentine of Terni who gave his name to the parish church in Perugia's Porta S. Susanna, recorded in 1262 (Reform., p.xxii).

Roster of Saints Venerated in Perugia: Old Local Saints.

St. CONSTANTIUS (29 Jan.): bishop and martyr. The Bollandists unhesitatingly label his acta as "recentia et nulla fide digna."²³⁹

Again: "Au 29 janvier, Perusia in Tuscia Constantini, désigne un martyr qui, de temps immémorial, est honoré à Pérouse. Mais ce n'est point dans ses actes qu'il faut se renseigner sur s.

Constant."²⁴⁰ Much about this saint is, therefore, uncertain: when he lived (the four redactions of his legenda say that he was martyred in the reign of Antoninus); whether or not he was in fact a bishop (the oldest vita does call him 'Constantius pontifex'); and if so, whether or not he was the proto-bishop of Perugia (which Lanzoni thinks is possible).²⁴¹ What does seem to be certain is a tradition of continuous veneration for St. Constantius in Perugia. The saint had supposedly been decapitated near the city of Foligno and in that city (before 1527) there had been a church dedicated to him. But all the redactions of his passio affirm that the relics of the saint were brought to Perugia for burial. Just outside the walls of the city, in the Porta S. Pietro, where the present church of San Costanzo stands, the saint's remains were interred.²⁴²

Reputedly interred in the same church was a pious disciple of the saint named Leviano, whom writers like Jacobilli call a beatus, but for whom no later medieval tradition of public veneration seems to exist.²⁴³ The present church of San Costanzo

was consecrated in 1205. We know this because a certain Presbyter Alexius put up an inscription to mark the event; the inscription also provides the names of the minor co-patrons of the church.²⁴⁴

It is astonishing to realize that this church dedication is the strongest sign of Constantius's 13th century cult which we possess. For the 13th century, which sees the construction of splendid monuments symbolizing Perugian civic pride and corporate identity, seems to ignore St.Constantius. There is no hint of his later status of equality with Lawrence and Herculanus. There is nothing, in fact, to suggest that St.Constantius was looked upon as a patron of Perugia. He is absent from the Fontana Maggiore (1278); he does not appear on the Maestà delle Volta (1297) - instead, the place one might have imagined would have been his is occupied by St.Christopher. More seriously, he does not receive an honorable mention in the preamble to the civic statutes of 1279, although six other saints are invoked, (cf. Appendix B). And if he assumes a high civic rank in the Perugian treaties of 1337-54 (cf. Appendix B), the Portale Maggiore of the Palazzo dei Priori (c.1346-53) snubs him; in a saint-grouping of considerable symbolic significance, the figure of St.Louis of Toulouse (not of St.Constantius) joins those of Saints Lawrence and Herculanus in greeting visitors to Perugia's finest municipal building.

If the available evidence is not misleading, St.Constantius's rise to civic glory begins only in 1310. Crispolti, who is not the most reliable of authorities, maintains that in September of that year the Dominican preacher Fra Giacomo di S. Cristina

persuaded the magistrates to institute il lume (i.e. a procession with lighted tapers) for St.Constantius.²⁴⁵ Why this should be so is unclear, since the Dominicans had no tie with the saint's church or advantage to be gained in fostering his cult. Pellini, closely following original documents here (cf. Riccieri, p.387), is adamant that the municipal decision of December, 1310 to celebrate the vigil of Constantius's feast (28 Jan.), with all the magistrates and corporations and collectivities taking part, wax candles in hand, was unprecedented. Processions were to be held to the ~~saint's~~ church "perche questo santo era stato vescovo della città, a perciò avvocato, e protettore di essa; ~~the~~ the coming celebrations were to be widely announced, since there was no tradition of making "nella sua festa solennità alcuna, nè di processione, nè di luminarie. . ." ²⁴⁶ Further research needs to establish what provoked the upsurge of veneration in 1310.

From that time onwards, however, St.Constantius's feast is frequently alluded to, and processions with candles at his vigil seem to have taken place regularly throughout the 14th and 15th centuries. On 1 Jan. 1313, the ordinances of 1310 were renewed; the feast of St.Constantius was to be celebrated as "uno de' quattro lumi principali della città" and the city would pay for the wax torches; those not taking part in the festivities would be punished; and, in honor of the saint, ten prisoners were to be released.²⁴⁷ References to the saint's holiday and processions on its vigil occur in 1316 (Riccieri, p.390); the statutes of 1342;²⁴⁸ 1356 and 1359;²⁴⁹ 1372²⁵⁰ and 1389 (where curbs are necessary because of the danger of popular disturbances) (ibid., p. 409); and 1394 (ibid., p.403). By 1377, a writer can describe

the civic rituals of St.Constantius's day as "luminaria longa et longissimo tempore ad reverentiam gloriosi et Beati Constantii defensoris et protectoris civitatis Perusiae in ipsa ecclesia consueta,"²⁵¹ while not appreciating the fact that the saint's current eminence in Perugian civic life had been achieved in less than seventy years.

The city of Perugia continued to pay homage to St.Constantius throughout the 15th century; what the 14th century had firmly established, the 15th assumed to have always been traditional. His church became an arrival point for the entry processions of distinguished civic guests.²⁵² We know that trumpets were usually sounded during Constantius's lume, because, in 1437, out of respect for the recently deceased Malatesta de Pandolfo dei Baglione, they were kept silent from the foot of the piazza to the stairs of Sant' Ercolano.²⁵³ In 1456, the road leading to San Costanzo's was repaired so that the devout could visit the church and obtain the indulgences which it had been granted (Ricciari, p.434). The monks of San Pietro, who had charge of San Costanzo's, restored and decorated the church in the late 15th century.²⁵⁴ To judge from the expenditure for costumes for the saint's feast in 1487, the participants in the celebrations must have been sumptuously outfitted for the occasion.²⁵⁵

St.Constantius's cult as reflected in works of art, lauds, and vitae almost exactly follows the chronology of his rise to popular esteem outlined above. The initial impact comes in the 14th century; secure veneration comes in the 15th. The saint is represented in the miniatures of the arti,²⁵⁶ and in paintings commissioned by religious orders (e.g. Santi, p.14, no.62). For

example of greater civic interest, one may refer to his portrayal on plaque-banners (e.g. the Bonfigli banner of 1464; Kaf., col.320); or, his 1466 statua seu imago; ²⁵⁷ or, his inclusion in the altarpiece which the priors commissioned from Perugino in 1495. ²⁵⁸ His 14th century lauds are filled with patriotic references to Constantius's advocacy of Perugian interests ('O dux et praesidium gentis perusinae'). ²⁵⁹ His vita is contained in a 15th century MS. ²⁶⁰

An itemized list of this kind certainly does not do justice to the depths of religious and civic feeling which his cult aroused. Yet it is of historical significance that the civic expression of his cult developed slowly, although patriotic sentiments are always inherent in veneration for a local martyr, and especially, an episcopal martyr. One might even argue that the cult of St.Herculanus provided the model (and the basis in local sentiment) for the cult of St.Constantius. A derivative quality in his cult could be thus explained by contagion from devotion fundamentally directed to St.Herculanus and the type of sanctity he exemplified - the episcopal martyr whose suffering and death were explicitly linked to a ⁿ historical crisis of the city and so could be thought of as redemptive, enacted for the sake of the city. There is some indication that the themes associated with the passio of St.Herculanus may have infiltrated the passio of St.Constantius. ²⁶¹ St.Constantius could not be wholly transformed into a martyr for Perugia. Yet he remained a martyred bishop and thus a fellow-citizen of those who invoked him. ^{261a} In the 14th and 15th centuries, if not in the 13th, the civic sentiment latent in his cult found ample expression.

St. FAUSTINUS (5 June or 9 Aug.?): martyr. A confused and obscure hagiographic tradition exists for this saint, who is sometimes considered a companion of Florentius,²⁶² and sometimes a companion of Secundianus.²⁶³ Indications of Perugian cult are a church dedication (c.1332-34) (Rat., 1317) and a reference to a feast day in the municipal statutes of 1342.²⁶⁴

St. FLORENTIUS (1 June): martyr. This saint and his companions (Julianus, Cyriacus, Faustinus, Marcellinus; occasionally with Caesarius, Crescentius, and others) were supposed to have been martyred under Decius, but the hagiographic evidence gives no grounds for confidence in establishing any secure information.²⁶⁵ The Roman Martyrology cites them under 5 June; in Perugia, however, 1 June was their feast day (commemorating a translation).²⁶⁶ Florentius has frequently been placed on the list of Perugian bishops, without very good reason.²⁶⁷ St. Florentius was titular of an ancient parish church in the Porta Sole, documented from 1220 (Santi-Guida, p.150); at first a Cluniac or Camaldolese house, it later passed to the Cistercians, and in 1445 it was conceded to the Servites (Pedica, pp.21-22).

We hear about the saint in connection with the flagellants of 1260. In the 14th century legenda associated with the movement, Fra Rainero Pasani encounters "sanctus Florencius, sanctus Caesarius, et sanctus Ciriacus" (plus other saints); they all go off to the church of San Fiorenzo where they perform the discipline "ante altare sancti Florencii."²⁶⁸ Now, as Vern implies, this may merely reflect an early 14th century tradition of veneration towards the saint;²⁶⁹ yet recent research on the flagellant movement tends to rehabilitate the legenda and to focus upon the riione of the Porta Sole as the scene of penitential activity in later 13th century Perugia.²⁷⁰

It is true, however, that the cult of St. Florentius seems to have revived in 1312, when on the 29th of April, the priors declared that the saint's feast of 1 June "debeat omni anno celebrari per omnes artifices et homines civitatis Perusii..."²⁷¹ His feast appears on the municipal statutes of 1342.²⁷² Still, for the later medieval cult of Florentius, the annus mirabilis is 1348. The Black Death had come to Perugia in early April of that year. On the 2nd of May, while plague raged in the city, the relics of St. Florentius were discovered under the high altar of his church. Pellini suggests that the saint's relics had heretofore not received much veneration.²⁷³ Two days later all this had changed:

Et adì 4 de maggio andaro in processione tutte le religione e le fraternite della città alla chiesa di san Fiorenzo, et fu portato el corpo suo in processione quasi per tutta la città per devozione, pregando Dio che per sua misericordia gli piaccia de far cessare la sopradicta pestilenzia e mortalità per intercessione de santo Fiorenzo...²⁷⁴

The trunk of the saint (the head was missing) was carefully re-placed under the high altar.²⁷⁵ St. Florentius had become a local plague saint, a specialty acquired of desperation. In 1393, the church of San Fiorenzo was granted a papal indulgence, valid for those visiting it between the vigil of its titular's feast until vespers of the following day.²⁷⁶

There is no need to detail every 15th century reference to Florentius's feast-day, which the Annali and various chroniclers seem eager to note. In 1412, during a plague procession, the relics of St. Florentius (and those of his companions) were solemnly carried from San Fiorenzo's to San Lorenzo's (Ricciari, p.415). Processions in honor of the saint were re-ordained for 1440, and

the magistrates then observed that Florentius had made many miracles in Perugia and that considerable devotion towards him existed in the city.²⁷⁷ Requests of wax were normally made by the city to the saint's church on his feast day (e.g. ibid., pp.426,433).

St.Florentius was the patron of a confraternity of disciplinati (mentioned in 1347 yet probably extant earlier).²⁷⁸ There is a 15th century laudario from this confraternity,²⁷⁹ though several 14th century lauds for this saint and his various companions exist (cf. Bar., p.284), which (if the ones examined are typical) rehearse the saint's passio without the interference of civic sentiment.²⁸⁰ Except for a seal of Ugolino prior of San Fiorenzo (late 13th century or early 14th)²⁸¹ and Bonfigli's San Fiorenzo plague-banner of 1476 (Kaf., col.440), St.Florentius seems to lack Perugian images.²⁸² All in all, the cult of Florentius in Perugia was closely bound up with times of penitence and plague.

St. HERCULANUS (1 March, 7 Nov.): bishop and martyr. Through the account of his martyrdom given in Gregory the Great's Dialogues, Perugia's most venerated local patron was also honored outside his Umbrian homeland.²⁸³ In Perugia, however, it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this cult or to over-emphasize its significance both as a receptacle for civic sentiment and as a symbol of Perugian identity. Indeed, the Florentine Franco Sacchetti concluded a satiric tale about Perugian love for their saint by saying that "(i Perugini) credono più in santo Ercolano che in Cristo; e tengono che sia innanzi al maggiore Santo in Paradiso."²⁸⁴ The pardonable hyperbole of a storyteller, no doubt. Yet Sacchetti's opinion does capture the enthusiasm of the Perugians for all things

involving their martyred bishop. The recurring municipal rituals associated with his cult receive ample notice from local chroniclers; there exist numerous images and lauds devoted to his memory. In fact, the abundance of testimony and the frequent intersection of patronal cult and civic history, mean that only the broad patterns, the main lines of public devotion to St. Herculano, can be indicated.

Gregory the Great's narrative of the death of Herculano (c. 547) at the hands of Totila's Goths lacks the picturesque embroidery of subsequent legends; still, it is not lacking in the typical signs of sanctity - the incorruptibility of the body after forty days of burial; the miraculous fusion of the severed head with the torso.²⁸⁵ Gregory's brief legenda emphasizes the personal sanctity of Herculano, but does not dwell on the sacrificial, redemptive aspects of the saint's death.²⁸⁶ Later writers will lay great emphasis on the martyred bishop as the heroic leader of a besieged city, defending it against barbarian attack and ultimately dying as a result of the treason of a Judas-like cleric. During the later Middle Ages, this more dramatic version, with its greater appeal to civic sentiment must have prevailed, since the Fontana Maggiore of 1278 brings together 'Sanctus Erculanus pastor perusinarum' and the 'Clericus proditor sancti Erculani'.²⁸⁷

Bishop Herculano is a legitimate historical entry in Perugia's episcopal list. The same cannot be said for his mythical predecessor, Herculano I. No modern scholar believes that he is more than a literary doubling of the real Herculano.²⁸⁸ The problem, however, consists of trying to discover why the doubling took place and (more important, perhaps) when it took place. Three explanations have been put forward, and there is nothing to prevent

us from accepting all of them. The fact that St. Herculaniis had two feast days (1 March was his great Perugian holiday) permitted the gift of one day to a homonym. Moreover, there was a Herculaniis in the hagiographic romance of the twelve Syrians who came to Umbria.²⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the occasion for the manufacture of a new Herculaniis seems to have been provided by the discovery of some relics. If Riccieri may be trusted, the Annali first explicitly refer to a Ercolano primo in 1409 (p.414). Now, in 1378 there was an inventio of relics at the church of Sant' Ercolano in Castello d'Antignola. At that date it is not clear if contemporaries felt they were getting additional relics of that Herculaniis who was already interred in the Duomo or of another saint of the same name (cf. Riccieri, pp.383, 394, which suggests the former hypothesis). Pellini and Crispolti both came to believe that these were the relics of an earlier Herculaniis who had previously enjoyed no cult in the city.²⁹⁰ Two sets of relics could give birth to two saints.

In any case, the relics of St. Herculaniis (the real one; his Doppelgänger no longer concerns us) remained in the cathedral of San Lorenzo, where the saint had his own chapel and chaplain (Riccieri, pp.392, 393, etc.). These relics were in 1487 solemnly translated to a new high altar in the Duomo; during this translation ceremony, the odor of sanctity was detected.²⁹¹ Co-titulary of the cathedral, St. Herculaniis became sole patron of a church in the Porta S. Pietro after 1297, a church located at the spot where it was thought his beheading and initial burial had taken place.²⁹² The flight of stairs leading to this church was called "le scale
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di Santo Erculano."

Just as St.Herculanus is invoked on Perugia's civic documents (cf. Appendix B), so he was represented on the monuments discussed earlier with Saints Lawrence and Constantius. It would have been unthinkable to have excluded him. In 1210, when the Perugians entered into a pact with the Papacy and swore to defend the rights of the Church, they did so on 23 Feb. "in vigilia s. Erculani."²⁹⁴ The riformanze of 1260 are proof of an intense civic appreciation for the saint. The commune then offered to subsidize the society responsible for providing wax on St.Herculanus's feast day.²⁹⁵ Furthermore, the magistrates declared that the entire octave of the feast must be regarded as a municipal holiday; they also doubled the punishments for malefactors who violated the vigil or day of the saint's feast.²⁹⁶ From the last quarter of the 13th century, the Annali report holiday processions with lights; the enforced participation of the corporations of the city at these ceremonies; and public games held in honor of the saint (Ritocieri, p.383-85). Finally, St.Herculanus is mentioned in the same breath as those potent municipal emblems - the Perugian griffin and the Guelf lion (ibid., p. 384).²⁹⁷

The 12th century had seen the beginning of those rituals of homage, submission, and subjection which Perugia, like other cities, exacted of her conquered territories and vassal lordships.²⁹⁸ Such ceremonies become more common in the 13th century. With some interruptions, they assume imposing dimensions in the course of the 14th century, becoming annual civic pageants dominating the city's public spectacles. "At formal civic ceremonies the lord priors represented the majesty and power of the people. On the feast of St.Herculanus... they sat on the

steps of the campanile of the cathedral arrayed in full regalia, and received from tributary towns and lords the contributions and gifts required by the terms of their submissions."²⁹⁹ The locus of the event belonged to St. Lawrence; the day, the 1st of March, to St. Herculanus.

The gifts might have varied, but the day on which they were to be bestowed did not. When in 1324 "la città di Perugia si fece padrona di Spoleto," the ambassadors of the subject city promised to give "in nomine di censo ogni anno la festa di S. Herculano un palio et un cavallo coperto di scarlatto."³⁰⁰

Another chronicler adds that the Spoletans were always to call Perugia signore.³⁰¹ But in 1327, the Spoletans had not appeared by the 14th of March and so were charged with rebellion; their officials yielded, however, bringing in the customary tribute on the 18th of the month.³⁰²

Whatever was promised, the gift was made in signum subjectionis.³⁰³ To the donors, St. Herculanus symbolized their loss of liberty; their recognition of his power could not have been graced with affection. In 1351, the representatives of thirty-two subject towns and dependencies came to do homage.³⁰⁴ Still, the political turbulence of the last quarter of the 14th century meant that the practice lapsed for some years or resumed in a decidedly less impressive manner.³⁰⁵

Customarily, pro amore Dei, two prisoners were released on St. Herculanus's holiday.³⁰⁶ Special prohibitions and work abstentions were laid down in the statute books to insure the proper observation of the feast.³⁰⁷ Naturally, there was always the danger of popular disturbances; especially during periods of

internal conflict, it was felt that public security demanded restrictions on the usual sorts of holiday behavior.³⁰⁸ Public games were normal, and included horse races and la Battaglia de' Sassi.³⁰⁹ North Africa in the time of St. Augustine knew ~~of this~~ of this "annual pitched battle between rival quartiers" of a town.³¹⁰ St. Herculaneus's day (1 March) saw the commencement of the annual season. The town was divided into a parte di sopra and a parte di sotto (Heywood speculates that this division corresponded to ancient political rivalries), the object being to hold the center, the platea comunis. The game, in which numbers of people were maimed or killed, was subsidized by the commune. When in 1372 the papal vicar-general attempted to suppress the game, he was told that its suppression would bring disaster to the city.³¹¹

Those writers who maintain that the 14th century saw a localization of the cult of saints, a reaction against new universal patrons, should be encouraged by Perugia's 14th century veneration for St. Herculaneus. During every political crisis, the saint's cult was the symbol of the city's welfare and liberty. When the Perugians broke away from ecclesiastical overlordship (1375-79), they complained that while the city had been under clerical supervision, the cult of their patron had been neglected; independence meant new zeal to honor him properly.³¹² Distinguished visitors like the lord^{cf}~~ess~~ Urbino knew that St. Herculaneus's feast was a propitious time to come to Perugia (Riccieri, p.404). An incoming bishop carefully chose the moment to take possession of his new see (around the end of February) so as to show his respect for Perugia's symbol of ^eepiscopal sanctity, Herculaneus.³¹³ In 1313, the new bishop was to celebrate at St. Herculaneus's altar so that the saint would confer favors upon the city (Riccieri, p.388).

St.Herculanus gazed down upon his city from the heights of the Portale Maggiore (c.1346-53). As an even loftier sign of civic esteem, Herculanus was chosen to adorn Perugia's coinage.

Perugia first began minting coins c.1259, but surviving examples of the Perugian zecca are probably no older than c.1395.³¹⁴ Of the coins which Perugia issued while she was an independent state, only one does not display the bust and name of St.Herculanus.³¹⁵

Perugia's 14th century communal seal also carries the portrait of St.Herculanus together with the motto (which is similar to Parma's): "Hostis turbetur - Perusinos sanctus iste tuetur."³¹⁶

Indeed, the effigies of St.Herculanus were so numerous in 14th and 15th century Perugia that it must have seemed as if the saint were watching over everything. By statute, an image of St.Herculanus was to be conveyed through the city on the saint's vigil and feast day processions.³¹⁷ The image was often repaired, or, if need be, replaced; images were usually gilded or silvered (cf. Riccieri, pp.400, 422, 435). A papal command forbidding the celebration of Mass in Perugia was delivered in the safest way possible: it was secretly placed in the hands of the image of St.Herculanus (1378).³¹⁸ Ten years later, the pope presented the image of the saint with a silver rose worth 150 gold florins.¹³⁹ Bernardino of Siena managed to persuade the Perugians to abandon their beloved game of stones, and instead to honor God and St.Herculanus; money formerly spent on the festival battle was channeled into pious causes, [ibid., p.419]. This was in 1426. A chronicler notes that the procession with the image took place all right, but that the lights were absent, and "per la predica de/frate Bernardino se lassò el ballare nella festa de Santo

Ercolano, che non se ballo."³²⁰ Religious revival imposed a gloomier feast day.

St.Herculanus appeared on the municipal silverware;³²¹ the priors' ballot-box (Santi, p.47, no.721); and his legend was painted on the walls of the priors' chapel. This large-scale work was commissioned from Bonfigli in 1454, but the painter died before finishing his work himself. There is a sequence of narrative ~~and~~, beginning with the siege by Totila and closing with the translation of the relics to San Lorenzo.³²² Herculanus was also represented on the priors' alterpiece, executed by Perugino.³²³ One could compile a long inventory of the saint's images (cf. Santi, p.11, nos.13, 23; p.14, no.62; p.45ff and note Kaf., cols.549-52), which would naturally include plague-banners. The Perugian arti were legally obliged to honor the saint.³²⁴ University students, it must be said, sometimes disturbed his feast day, earning no doubt the reproaches of the townspeople.³²⁵

To the very end of the Quattrocento, there is every sign of continued popular endorsement of the cult of Herculanus.³²⁶ His lauds, composed from the 14th century, and combining religious and patriotic feeling, were undoubtedly still performed.³²⁷ Nevertheless, one cannot help but regard the days of municipal power and independence, from around the later 13th century to about the last quarter of the 14th as the saint's finest hour. This was the period in which civic enthusiasm made devotion to St.Herculanus - who was never the patron of a party or faction - a force for municipal solidarity.

Bl. VANNUS (13 July): confessor. Traditionally considered to be the founder of the Camaldolese house of San Severo in Perugia, a monk of that order, and a disciple of St. Romuald, Vanno (d.1035?), as he is called, seems to have enjoyed a cult among his Perugian order brethren. Except for his name, nothing about him is certain.³²⁸ But he may have given his name to a Colle S. Vanno, and to a chapel near Perugia.³²⁹ More significantly, the older chapel of the priors was dedicated jointly to St. Louis of Toulouse and to San Vanno.³³⁰ The Annali of 1442 call both saints advocates of Perugia; a joint feast in August is mentioned, which could mean either the dedication feast of the chapel or St. Louis of Toulouse's 19 Aug. feast day; the two saints are again cited together in 1460 (Picciari, pp.427, 438). A cult which may reward further study.

St. PETER ABBOT (10 July): confessor. Neither of the two vitae of St. Peter Abbot (whom Perugian tradition often makes a member of the Vincioli family) will sustain much critical scrutiny. He either brought or restored the monastic life to San Pietro's (c.965), and has usually been thought of as the monastery's first abbot. The date of his death has been placed after December 1022.³³¹ The monks of San Pietro naturally venerated him; but outside the precincts of the abbey his cult appears to have known only one moment of wider publicity and fame. This occurred in 1436, a year of crisis for the monastery. The rule of its abbot Oddone Graziani had met with papal disapproval;³³² on 19 May 1436, by order of Eugenius IV, the abbot was suspended and the monastery was forced to join the congregation of St. Justina of Padua.³³³ Further papal bulls confirming this order were sent in June and

July of the same year.³³⁴ In such a context of papally imposed reform, anxiety and probable public humiliation for the monks of San Pietro, the discovery of the relics of the abbey's sainted founder was indeed opportune. The inventio came on 21 Dec. 1436, and the relics were found under the high altar. Inscribed on the casket were the words: 'these are the bones of St. Stephen [a monastic disciple of the abbey's founder] and St. Peter Abbot.' Not only all the religious and civic dignitaries, but also large crowds of ordinary citizens flocked to the abbey church.³³⁵ Past sanctity had been put to the service of present needs.

Iconographically, the saint appears in miniatures deriving from his abbey³³⁶ and in paintings and frescoes at the abbey's church (cf. Guida, p.108ff). There is a 15th century MS. of his vita.³³⁷ Boccaccio, with his usual acute sense of detail, tells a story set in Perugia which includes a character named Ercolano and a rich man called Pietro di Vinciolo (Decameron, fifth day, tenth tale).

Roster of Saints Venerated in Perugia: New Universal Saints

St. ANTHONY of Padua (13 June): confessor/order saint. This Franciscan (d.1231, can.1232) was surely venerated by his Perugian order brethren well before his cult received wider recognition. He was the patron of a nunnery in the Porta S. Angelo for Franciscan tertiaries, which was founded in 1427.³³⁸ From the mid-14th century, if not earlier, he was depicted in works of art commissioned by Perugian Franciscans (cf. Santi, p.6, no.955; p.17, no.79; p.19, no.111-14; Kaf., cols.104-5). Yet his feast came to be added to the holidays statutorily observed by

the city only in 1451.³³⁹ Perhaps this somewhat belated mark of municipal appreciation indicates a growing personal fame; and perhaps it reflects the impact in Perugia of the Franciscan Observantines of the Quattrocento.

St. BERNARDINO of Siena (20 May): confessor/order saint. If Pastor was correct, Bernardino was "the most popular saint who had for centuries appeared in the Italian peninsula."³⁴⁰ It is unnecessary to review Bernardino's work in fostering the Franciscan Observance, of which he was acknowledged to be a guiding spirit.³⁴¹ What matters here is Bernardino's work in Perugia, and especially his preaching. Bernardino was personally known and admired in Perugia during his lifetime; to an extent he exemplifies a type of 'living saint' increasingly familiar to urban Italians in the 15th century - the saint as preacher.

Bernardino (b.1380, d.1444, can.1450) visited Perugia from 19 Sept. to Nov., 1425; 20-24 Feb., 1427; 28-29 Sept., 1438; 25 July, 1440; 10-16 Aug., 1441; 4 May 1444.³⁴² His first visit the longest he made, achieved results which must have strongly impressed the townsfolk; Bernardino himself was undoubtedly pleased with his Perugian achievements, for two years later he told the Sienese: "There is as much difference between you and the Perugians as between heaven and earth."³⁴³ The chroniclers of Perugia refer to the stir his preaching caused: the shops were closed so that the people might hear him; vast crowds came; while he was speaking no one was to be seized for debt or imprisoned for crime. Of what followed, the chroniclers give us information which Bernardino later confirms in his Sienese sermons. 'So many reconciliations were made that I was amazed that there could have been so many enmities as

there had been.' Peace-making, however, was just the beginning of Bernardino's reform program. The "vanities" of dice, playing cards, false hair, flounces, and baubles worth a considerable sum, were heaped up in the piazza and burned.³⁴⁴ At this time too the so-called 'Statuta Bernardiniana' entered the Perugian law books. Under his (and possible Capistrano's)³⁴⁵ influence, severe penalties were imposed for crimes of blasphemy, gambling, sodomy, brawling, and usury. La Battaglia de' Sassi was abolished.³⁴⁶ On the saint's brief 1427 preaching visit to Perugia the chroniclers note that the weather was preternaturally mild.³⁴⁷ In 1438 his sermons were concerned with the Perugian's ingratitude to God for having spared them from the devastation and misery of neighbouring territories; he also denounced sodomy.³⁴⁸

In 1440, Bernardino is supposed to have inaugurated a school of moral theology at the Observantine convent of Monte Ripido, which was located about a mile from the walls of Porta S. Angelo.³⁴⁹ Preaching in Perugia in 1441, the saint is said to have used the recently constructed outdoor marble pulpit which was attached to a wall of the Duomo.³⁵⁰ He seems not to have preached in the city at the time of his last visit to it.³⁵¹ The magistrates were nevertheless quick to contribute to his good works (Piccieri, p.427).

Perugian reaction to the death of Bernardino in ^{L'}Aquila was expressed in a lavish funeral service, to which the city gave 120 florins. A young but learned Augustinian delivered the eulogy, tracing Bernardino's career "et continuamente lo nominava per santo, et che la vita sua era stata come la vita de Santo Francesco; et raccontava li suoi gran miracoli che aveva fatti."³⁵² Or, as another chronicler reported the oration, "miracoli che tutto di fa,

salvo alli Perugini che poco credono."³⁵³ News of Bernardino's canonization provoked another wave of popular enthusiasm, which the sermon of an Observantine confrère helped to excite. On the 23th of June, 1450, Perugia held a magnificent procession; St. Bernardino's image was painted on a banner and this was carried along the procession's route to San Francesco. The feast of St. Bernardino on 20 May would be kept annually.³⁵⁴

The cult of St. Bernardino in Perugia owed much to the saint's visits to the city. One could almost say that his cult began in 1425, and that the six years that elapsed between his death and his canonization strengthened earlier convictions, allowing the impression he had made in his lifetime to become firmer. Admiration for Bernardino extended towards the entire Observantine family, their present leaders (who would become their future saints), and their heroes from the early days of the Franciscan Order. At the same time, the preaching of the Observantines promoted the cult of St. Bernardino. Of the many Observantine preachers who occupied Perugian pulpits, there were none who could not be described as in some way a disciple of Bernardino. Each was sure to invoke him.

Bernardino's efforts to reform Perugian morals showed a concern for their welfare which allowed his cult to become localized. The Annali refer to him frequently as a benefactor, protector, and intercessor of Perugia, who had called the Perugians his children (cf. Ricciardi, pp. 427, 431, 432, etc.). Devotion prompted the priors in 1451 to establish a chapel of San Bernardino in the Puomo of Perugia³⁵⁵ (a sign of civic admiration) and also to construct a superb oratory dedicated to the same saint, to be situated near San Francesco al Prato in Porta S. Susanna. The oratory, the

achievement of Agostino di Duccio, carries the inscription: 'Augusta Perusia MCCCCLXI'. St. Bernardino in glory dominates the tympanum, while scenes from this life and miracles appear in low relief on the facade. Yet the civic context is almost equally conspicuous. Besides the Perugian griffin, there are two large statues placed in niches on either side of the portal: Saints Constantius and Herculaneus (cf. Pedica, p.99; Guida, pp.94-9). St. Bernardino was thus made a citizen of Perugia.

Certainly the gonfalone of St. Bernardino, which was originally housed in the saint's oratory, combines religious apotheosis (Bernardino, holding his sacred monogram, in heaven with Jesus, surrounded by angels) with civic zeal (the magistrates offer wax to the saint's cult; a view of the saint's oratory; flags with the griffin emblem). The main banner, by Bonfigli, was finished in 1465.³⁵⁶ In 1456 the Confraternita di s. Bernardino was founded;³⁵⁷ themes of penance and love of Perugia both help to explain the saint's prominent position in the Bonfigli gonfalone of 1464. Bernardino occupies the lower left foreground, balancing St. Sebastian.³⁵⁸ The Franciscans were of course proud to portray their saint (e.g. Santi, p.23, no.117-22). The Perugians maintained his annual processions and allowed debtors their freedom during Bernardino's feast day.³⁵⁹ Probably this was the most successful new cult of the latter half of the ^aQuattrocento.

St. CATHERINE of Siena (4 May - in Perugia);³⁶⁰ virgin/order saint. The Perugian cult of this Dominican tertiary (d.1380, can.1461) outgrew the confines of the Dominican Order thanks to the devotion and stimulus of a Dominican tertiary and 'living saint', Colomba da

Rieti. The Beata Colomba constantly described herself as a follower of St.Catherine; in 1491, she established a nunnery dedicated to the Sienese saint in the Porta S. Pietro.³⁶¹ In 1493, St.Catherine was honored with public processions (was the influence of Beata Colomba responsible?) (Ricciari, p.457). Plague came to Perugia in 1494. The magistrates turned to Beata Colomba who urged them to call upon St.Dominic and St.Catherine of Siena.³⁶² That same year the magistrates had a gonfalone made,, on which in addition to the traditional civic patrons, appeared St.Catherine "interdeditrix pro hac nostra civitate."³⁶³ The gonfalone, which had been made for the nuns of St.Catherine, was solemnly carried in procession on the saint's feast to her chapel at San Domenico's, a ritual intended to remove the plague (Ricciari, p.457). Processions were renewed in 1495, and continued to be performed annually until 1529.³⁶⁴ Private devotion to St.Catherine quickened during the late 15th century as a result of Colomba's zeal.³⁶⁵ Colomba's final act of homage to her patron came with her burial at the foot of St.Catherine's altar in San Domenico's.³⁶⁶ An interesting instance of how personal devotion and desperate circumstances can stimulate a cult.

St. CLARE (12 Aug.): virgin/order saint. Probably best known in Perugia as the patron of the Franciscan second order. The Bishop of Perugia attended her translation in Assisi (9 Sept. 1260).³⁶⁷ Representations, as one would expect, came from the Franciscans (cf. Santi, p.6, no.955; p.19, nos.111-114; p.24, nos.137-39, 204). Perhaps depicted in a 14th century fresco at San Bevignate's. A minor and restricted cult.

St. DOMINIC (5 Aug. - in Perugia):³⁶⁸ confessor/order founder.

It may be significant that a 14th century Perugian annalist records the death of St. Francis in one brief line, while for St. Dominic he feels compelled to explain who the saint was.³⁶⁹ In Perugia, the cult of St. Dominic seems rather depersonalized; public documents refer often to the saint's religious order, his church, or the indulgence which that church had been granted, but rarely to the ^{pi}saint himself (yet cf. Appendix B where the saint is invoked in the statutes of 1279). San Domenico vecchio had been founded by the order beatus Nicholas da Giovanazzo in the first half of the 13th century; the church was consecrated in 1265. Construction of the new San Domenico's began in 1304 and Pius II consecrated it in 1459.³⁷⁰ The Dominicans were active in Perugia, holding their chapters-general of 1427 and 1473 in the city; their Observantines arrived in 1437.³⁷¹ There were brethren ~~of~~^{ken} of saintly reputation amongst the Perugian Dominicans,³⁷² yet it seems that veneration for them was exclusi^vely confined to the order. The pardon or indulgence of San Domenico's (celebrated with lights, processions, blaring trumpets) began on vespers of 2 Aug. and lasted to vespers of 3 Aug. (Ricciari, p.401).³⁷³ By 1446, it was usual to regard the two days between 2 Aug. and 5 Aug. as part of a holiday season (ibid., p.429). The municipal statutes of 1342 devote considerable space to the indulgence holiday.³⁷⁴

Images of St. Dominic were primarily due to the Dominicans (e.g. Santi, p.19, nos.91-103); he appears on their great stained-glass window (Santi, -Guida, p.88); and on the gonfalone inspired by the Dominican tertiary, Beata Colomba,³⁷⁵ who was devoted to him.³⁷⁶ Others had respect for him as well: he was the patron

of a confraternity of flagellants first mentioned in 1336.³⁷⁷

There are lauds in his honor.³⁷⁸ Moreover, the preamble to the statutes of the fisherman's guild (copying the municipal statutes of 1279?) give him honorable mention.³⁷⁹

It must be admitted that the record of St. Dominic's veneration in Perugia is respectable but somewhat lifeless. There is, however, a charming local legend that brings a touch of life to the story. According to this tradition, St. Dominic and St. Francis, who had never previously known one another, met c.1220 in the Porta S. Angelo quarter of Perugia, wordlessly embraced, and then went on their separate ways. To commemorate this meeting, the Perugians affixed an image of the Virgin and the two saints to a wall in the quarter. We don't have the image, but Pellini tells us that it was restored in his own day. Pellini also acknowledges that no written evidence authenticates the supposed encounter in Perugia.³⁸⁰ Rome is a likelier venue for the putative meeting.³⁸¹

St. ELIZABETH of Hungary (19 Nov.); widow/order saint. On 27 May, 1235, Pope Gregory IX solemnly canonized this Franciscan tertiary (d.1231) in the church of San Domenico vecchio of Perugia.³⁸²

From her canonization in the city, her cult developed. The Perugian Dominicans (who dedicated an altar to her) actually recited her office before the bull of canonization was published.³⁸³ Very soon, in a place outside the walls of Porta S. Angelo, where the inhabitants needed the services of a priest particularly when they were ill and found the city gates shut, a modest chapel, under the jurisdiction of the canons of San Lorenzo, was built in her honor. By 1338, Santa Elisabetta had been enlarged and transformed into a rural parish church.³⁸⁴ Frescoes and other

images of St. Elizabeth come from this and other Perugian churches; and from the tertiaryes of her order.³⁸⁵ There is also a laud (Per., p.235). A good example of how a foreign saint's cult was received in the city.

St. FRANCIS (4 Oct.): confessor/order founder. The cult of St. Francis in Perugia was shaped by the saint's ties with Assisi, which was a close neighbor and occasional enemy. To the Perugians, St. Francis was both a 'universal' saint and the patron of a rival commune. Perugia was a stronghold of Franciscanism; but Assisi was its international capital. St. Francis, with the defeated Soldiers of Assisi, had been imprisoned in Perugia (c.1202); he may have been there again in 1216 to attend the death-bed of Innocent III and to receive the Port^uncula Indulgence from his successor Honorius III; he certainly preached in Perugia (c.1224?), and recruited at least one disciple there.³⁸⁶ On St. Francis's last journey to Assisi, the route was carefully chosen to avoid Perugia: Brother Elias feared that the Perugians would attempt to gain possession of the dying saint, who was soon to become the most valuable of relics.³⁸⁷ Perugian lust for these relics helps to explain Elias's security precautions in the lower church of Assisi. "When the Perugians sacked Assisi in 1442 they tried to appropriate... (St. Francis's) body, thus vindicating Elias's wisdom in hiding the coffin and putting it in a church that was also a strategically placed fortress."³⁸⁸ Certainly St. Francis favored some Perugians with miracles;³⁸⁹ and certainly there were normally Perugian 'pilgrims' in Assisi when it was the time of the indulgence. It is interesting that at the same period when the movement of the flagellants was beginning in Perugia, the

commune granted special permission to the podesta and his legal staff (who were ordinarily forbidden to leave the city or the district) "ire ad Assisium pro veneratione corporis beati Francisci" (4 May 1260).³⁹⁰ In 1279, the Perugian statutes invoke Assisi's saint (cf. Appendix B) - together with Dominic. His presence here is rather unexpected; yet, it would have been impossible to have included him on a civic monument such as the Fontana Maggiore. The municipal statutes of 1342 mention his feast and refer to the Portiunicula Indulgence.³⁹¹

Civic enthusiasm towards St. Francis came infrequently. In 1394, a procession was held on the saint's feast out of gratitude for recovering Migliano, Monte Vibiano, and Monte Lagello (Picciari, p.403). This was an isolated incident, since annual processions for the feast of St. Francis were initiated in 1445 "per felicem memoriam beati Bernardini et Fratres de Observantia Ordinis Minorum b. Francisci."³⁹² Honoring St. Francis is thus an excuse for honoring the yet uncanonized St. Bernardino of Siena. From the wording of the ordinance, it is patent that devotion to Francis serves as a legitimate pretext for exalting his most illustrious contemporary disciple.

The precise date when the Franciscans found permanent accomodation in Perugia cannot be determined from the available sources. Some scholars would argue that they obtained San Francesco delle Donne as early as 1214.³⁹³ A papal indulgence for the fabric of San Francesco al Prato was issued in 1246.³⁹⁴ St. Francis, whose message stressed penitence, was the patron of a confraternity of flagellants, documented from the first quarter of the 14th century.³⁹⁵ He also has a laud (Per., p. 225). To

attempt a catalogue of his images - in which he is often shown grouped with the sainted brethren^{ren} of his order - would be foolhardy. Visually, he was one of the best known saints in Perugia.³⁹⁶ Two associations are interesting, St. Francis as a doctor (cf. Santi, p.22, no.158: from the Franciscan studio?); and St. Francis with St. Michael (a local tradition linked the friars minor with the Porta S. Angelo).³⁹⁷

The cult of St. Francis in Perugia had profound religious meaning. Politically, however, his patronal ties with Assisi meant that he could never be accepted in Perugia as a naturalized citizen. If the Perugians had been able to acquire his relics, their attitude would have been quite different. The Observantine Reformation quickened devotion towards him. Since he was so closely indentified with his order, the popular standing of the friars was bound to have an impact on his cult.

St. LOUIS of France (25 Aug.): confessor. The thirty-fourth chapter of the Moretti describes a visit of King Louis of France to Perugia; the King, disguised as a poor pilgrim, is recognized by Brother Giles, whom he has journeyed to see. They embrace without speaking. The scene was included in a 15th century painting of the St. Giles an episoder of his life (see Vaf., cols. 528-30). The story is entirely ficti^{tious}~~ous~~. St. Louis never came to Perugia.³⁹⁸

St. LOUIS of Toulouse (19 Aug.): bishop/order saint. The son of Charles II, King of Naples, was Archbishop of Toulouse, and a member of the Franciscan Order (d.1297, can.1317). As a canonized saint, he became a patron of Perugia. He was not canonized in Perugia,

as some scholars have mistakenly assumed,³⁹⁹ nor did he receive his episcopal consecration there.⁴⁰⁰ Why then was he chosen to be an advocate of the city? His Franciscanism and his personal tendency towards the Spiritual party⁴⁰¹ (which undoubtedly was strong in 14th century Umbria) do not account for a civic decision.

St. Louis of Toulouse was a political symbol of the Angevins of Naples and of the Guelf cause. In the Quattrocento, Bernardino of Siena argued that "non solum dementiae est, sed risu dignum, aliquem sanctum faciunt guelfum et alterum ghibellinum."⁴⁰²

Laughable or not, saints could symbolize a political alliance. Perugia's staunch Guelfism made loyalty to King Robert of Naples, (d.1343), the Guelf champion and brother of St. Louis of Toulouse, a natural part of her foreign policy. A 14th century Perugian chronicler remarked on the visit of King Robert and his wife to Perugia in 1310, and of the respectful way in which they were welcomed. He also speaks of Perugian troops sent to aid King Robert the following year. Mistakenly, he notes that at a church council in 1312 "fu canonizzato s. Lodovico Arcivescovo di Toloso ...il quale essendo primogenito del re Carlo e fratello carnale del re Roberto...."⁴⁰³

The date may have been wrong but the political context was flawless. St. Louis of Toulouse seems to have been first publicly honored by the municipal authorities of Perugia in 1319, when, hearing that King Robert had regained control of Genoa, they decided to praise God and St. ^{Louis of} ~~Robert~~ Toulouse in the usual manner. They processed to San Francesco al Prato where there was an image of the Franciscan saint.⁴⁰⁴

Now, it is not clear from Pellini's narrative, how long before this incident St. Louis had been chosen as advocate of Perugia.

But advocacy would have been unlikely before canonization (1317), and thus Ricci's assertion that the choice was made in 1309 is most implausible.⁴⁰⁵

In 1342 the feast of St. Louis appears on the statute books.⁴⁰⁶ Yet the Perugians' finest 14th century gesture of regard for their Guelf patron was to place his effigy ~~on~~^t together with those of St. Lawrence and St. Herculanius - over the Portale Maggiore of the Palazzo dei Priori (c.1346-1353). The Portale displays the Angevin coat of arms, the Florentine lily, and the insignia of Rome (a reflection of Perugian support for Cola di Rienzo), as detailed a statement of political loyalties as one could wish.⁴⁰⁷ The Palazzo dei Priori, not San Francesco al Prato, was the emotional center of the Perugian cult of St. Louis of Toulouse. During the 15th century, his feast was celebrated in the prior's chapel, of which he was co-titulary,⁴⁰⁸ and processions continued to be held to mark the occasion (e.g. Riccieri, p.442). The four scenes from the life of St. Louis of Toulouse, which the priors commissioned in 1454 from Bonfigli adorned the walls of their chapel by 1461.⁴⁰⁹ With Saints Lawrence, Herculanius, and Constantius, his presence was requested on the priors' altarpiece, which Perugino was contracted to paint in 1495.⁴¹⁰ He appears with other civic patrons on the gonfalone of 1464;⁴¹¹ and he also figures in groupings of order saints (e.g. Santi, p.6, no.995; p.12, no.76; p.17, no.79). An exceptionally significant cult in later medieval Perugia.

St. PETER MARTYR (28 April): martyr/order saint. The "patron saint of the Inquisition"⁴¹² was venerated in Perugia, first of all, because he was canonized there, at San Domenico's, in 1253,⁴¹³

and secondly because his order brethren ^{ven} in Perugia (among whom there were some like frater Raynerius de Bendefende⁴¹⁴ who had known him personally) were devoted to his memory. This devotion was expressed in a chapel dedication to the saint⁴¹⁵ and by numerous images (e.g. Santi, p.20, no.150-51; p.22, no.142-46; Santi-Guida, p.83). Ricci argues that the nuns of Santa ^{Giuliana} ~~Catiana~~ included his image in their parlor to commemorate the fact that their convent had been founded in the same year as Peter Martyr's canonization and also to acknowledge the friendship that existed between their founder, John of Toledo, and Raynerius de Bendefende.⁴¹⁶ Yet a calendar from Santa Giuliana does not indicate special liturgical veneration for Peter Martyr. (cf. Appendix A, EUL, MS.29, April 29). In 1430, the Perugian Dominicans asked the municipal authorities for a procession to celebrate the saint's feast (Picciari, p.421), and from 1430 to 1460 there are references to this procession in the Annali⁴¹⁷ where its cost seems to represent a minimum standard for the processions of other saints.⁴¹⁸ Chroniclers are quite explicit that these processions began in 1430.⁴¹⁹ Did the Dominicans in this way endeavor to counter-act the influence of the saints of the Franciscan Observance? As patron of a confraternity of flagellants (ibid., p.437), Peter Martyr would have a laud (Bar., p.283). On the Bonfigli gonfalone of 1464, St. Peter Martyr intercedes for plague-ridden Perugia, standing at the Virgin's left as St. Francis stands at her right; immediately below him kneels a martyr from the past - St. Sebastian.^{419^a}

St. ROCH (16 Aug.): confessor. Evidence of cult comes at a time when Perugia suffered from the plague. In 1437 the priors gave funds to the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli of Porta S. Pietro to erect a chapel dedicated to St. Roch (Riccieri, p.456).

St. THOMAS AQUINAS (7 March): confessor/order saint. Images stress his intellectual eminence by grouping him with new or old doctors of the Church (e.g. Santi, p.22; no.158; Santi-Guida, p.88). Naturally, his order brethren the Dominicans, exerted themselves on his behalf (cf. the chapel dedication to him at San Domenico's)^{419a} and it was John of Naples, O.P., who founded the Company of St. Thomas Aquinas (1445). The members of this Company pledged the usual obligations about honoring the feast day of their patron. There were many local scholars, students, and men of letters in this Company, whose affiliation with the Dominicans is plain from the preamble to its costituzioni:

... e nostri padri, cioè patriarcha san Domenego
e invectissimo chavaliero de Christo san Pietro
Martyre e del nostro confaloniere angelicho dottore
san Tomaso de Aquino...⁴²⁰

There are also lauds in honor of the saint.⁴²¹

St. VINCENT FERRER (5 April): confessor/order saint. In 1455, the year in which St. Vincent Ferrer, O.P., was canonized, the magistrates, wishing to show respect for the new saint, authorized processions, but just for this one occasion.⁴²² Since we hear of such processions, on his feast day, again in 1459 and 1469, it is evident that, despite the efforts of the authorities not to swell

the already overloaded calendar of processions, St.Vincent's feast had come to be celebrated in the usual manner (Ricciari, pp.437-38, 445). The Beata Colomba is reported to have restored a child to life and health, thanks to the oil from a 'lampada di s. Vincentio' which must have burned before an altar of St.Vincent Ferrer.⁴²³

St. YVES (19 May): confessor. A Perugian jurist founded an altar to the 'patron saint of lawyers' in the Duomo (before 1441).⁴²⁴

Roster of Saints Venerated in Perugia: New Regional Saints.

St. ALBERT of Trapani (7 Aug.): confessor/order saint. Although Kaftal does not mention a Perugian image for this Carmelite saint (d.1307, can.1457?), the magistrates of the city authorized in 1497 a donation to the church of the Carmelites for a picture of a St. Albert who undoubtedly was this one (Ricciari, p.459).

St. BONAVENTURA (14 July): bishop/order saint. St. Bonaventura was canonized in 1432, and in that year he received public recognition in Perugia. The Franciscans were awarded municipal funds to pay for a procession in honor of their new saint and also to have a gonfalone made displaying his image (Ricciari, p.452). The next year the Annali record a similar procession on the saint's feast and the gift of wax to the friars of San Francesco al Frato (ibid., p.453).

Bl. CONRAD of Offida (12 Dec.): confessor/order saint. This Franciscan beatus (d.1306) "mirabile zelatore della evangelica povertade," was one of the heroes of the Fioretti⁴²⁵ and a shining light of the Spirituals. He received permission from Celestine V to withdraw from the authority of his Order, and practice the rule in its original purity.⁴²⁶ It is sometimes said that he joined the Celestine Hermits, and when Boniface VIII suppressed them, returned to the Franciscans.⁴²⁷ To the Spirituals, Celestine V was the type of the long awaited Papa Angelicus, who, like Celestine, would have to be elected at Perugia.⁴²⁸ Bl. Conrad's memory was revered by these same 14th century mystical enthusiasts, for whom Umbria was a terra sancta. Perugia was well aware of the value of Bl. Conrad's relics, which were preserved in Bastia, in the territory

of Assisi, and were "performing innumerable miracles there."⁴²⁹

Perugia was in 1320 busily invading and conquering neighboring towns and territories, with her victorious Guelf army. The siege of Bastia was successful. The Perugian army returned with "el corpo de santo Corrado."⁴³⁰ These relics, appreciated for their own sake, were also trophies of war.

St. JOHN of Capistrano (23 March): confessor/order saint. John of Capistrano (b.1386, d.1456, can.1724) had been a student at the University of Perugia, and later he became a highly respected judge in the same city. When Braccio da Montone captured Perugia, John was imprisoned in the tower or castle of Brufa, from which he tried, but failed, to escape. During his imprisonment, after a vision of St.Francis, he vowed to become a Franciscan; upon his release, he entered the order at the convent of Monteripido, near the Porta S. Angelo, in Perugia.⁴³¹ This happened in 1415. By 1448, when Brother John of Capistrano, one of the most prominent leaders of the Franciscan Observance, is mentioned in the Annali, he is spoken of with great deference. Indeed, his moral authority, like Bernardino's, was that of the 'living saint.' The Perugians asked him how to free the city from the plague. Upon his advice, three processions were held to appease God's anger (Ricciari, p.429). In 1487 the Perugians decided to honor his memory by dedicating a chapel to the Virgin Mary, St.Francis, and Bl. John of Capistrano. The location of the chapel was to be the Castello di Brufa (ibid., pp.456, 457, 460).

St. JOSEPH (19 March): confessor, husband of Mary. The cult of St.Joseph developed very slowly in the medieval West, but by the

15th century it had attracted such advocates as Gerson and Bernardino of Siena.⁴³² For Perugia, devotion to St. Joseph was partially a result of obtaining the relic of the Sant'Anello, the ring with which St. Joseph was believed to have wed the Virgin Mary. The acquisition of the relic aroused a great deal of enthusiasm in Perugia.⁴³³ The ring directed attention not only towards the Virgin as the spouse of Joseph (with important implications for Italian family sentiment and the cult of the Sacra Famiglia), but also towards St. Joseph himself. Perugia obtained the Sant'Anello in 1473; in 1474, Sixtus IV authorized the public cult of St. Joseph.⁴³⁴ Sixtus knew about the political controversy which Perugia's refusal to return the ring to Chiusi engendered, but otherwise there is probably no connection between these events. Both testify, however, to a common devotional current. Enthusiasm for St. Joseph in Perugia does not seem to have been directed into formal veneration before the suggestion made by the Observantine Franciscan Bernardino of Feltre (d. 1494) to the priors of the city in 1486, to erect a chapel in the Duomo which would be worthy to house the Sant'Anello and to dedicate that chapel jointly to St. Joseph and the Virgin Mary. The suggestion was accepted; and by 1487 the chapel housed the relic (Ricciari, pp. 455, 456).⁴³⁵ In that same year, Bernardino of Feltre instituted the Compagnia di s. Giuseppe, and, after the Bishop of Perugia, his was the first signature in the confraternity's register (163 members are listed). This confraternity was officially founded on the feast of its patron.⁴³⁶ A chronicler comments:

Dell'anno 1488 adì 19 marzo fu cominciata a far la festa di s. Giuseppe, che prima non se ne faceva mentione; e fu per amor dell'anello della Madonna.⁴³⁷

Nevertheless, it is clear that the active zeal of Bernardino had much to do with the promotion of St. Joseph's cult in Perugia. By 1495, a variety of images of the newly popular saint had been commissioned and St. Joseph was to be found alongside the patrons of Perugia.⁴³⁸ The origins of a cult which would have growing significance in the future.

St. JULIANA FALCONIERI (19 June): virgin/order saint. Juliana is honored as the foundress of the female branch of the Servite Order (d.1341, can.1737). She appears with the rays of a beata in the gonfalone of the confraternity of the Annunciation of the church of Santa Maria Nuova, a Servite church (cf. Santi, p.21, no.169, fig.21).⁴³⁹

St. NICHOLAS of Tolentino (10 Sept.): confessor/order saint. The cult of Nicholas of Tolentino (d.1305, can.1446), who was an Augustinian friar, spread very quickly, and in Perugia, as elsewhere, he is shown wearing the nimbus of a saint a century or more before his canonization (e.g. Santi, p.5, no.715; also see inventory nos. 705, 670).⁴⁴⁰ Many of his Perugian images are votive frescoes, perhaps signifying popular esteem for miraculous powers. Another motif is St. Nicholas as peace-maker.⁴⁴¹ The Augustinians of Perugia had an altar dedicated to him (cf. Pedica, p.17). In 1446, when he was canonized, "fu fatta in Peroscia una bella processione con tutti li ordini."⁴⁴² The Augustinians petitioned the magistrates to make St. Nicholas's feast a public holiday in 1495; they gave as their reasons the graces being received at their chapel to the saint; their request was granted (Ricciari, p.453).

Bl. FORTIUS LATIOSUS of Forlì (1 May): confessor/order saint. This Servite beatus (d.1345) appears on the 1476 Bonfigli banner at the church of San Fiorenzo of Perugia. Two of his miracles are also depicted (Kaf., cols.873-76).

Bl. PHILIP BENEDICTI (23 Aug.): confessor/order saint. A former Servite order general, St.Philip (d.1285) would be honored by his Perugian brethren. He too figures on the San Fiorenzo confalone of 1476 (Kaf. cols.920-21). He appears as well on the Servite's confraternity banner of the Annunziata (Santi, p.21, no.169), dated 1466.⁴⁴³

Bl. URBAN V (19 Dec.): pope. Urban V (b.1309; pope from 1362; d. 1370; cult confirmed 1870) laid the city of Perugia under an interdict in 1368.⁴⁴⁴ Yet, when he died, the city performed solemn funeral rites in his honor.⁴⁴⁵ Pellini recounts that in 1371 there were images of him in the Duomo and in San Domenico's, with the title of beatus.⁴⁴⁶

Roster of Saints Venerated in Perugia: New Local Saints.

Bl. BENEDICT XI (7 July): pope/order saint. Pope Benedict was not a native of Perugia, nor was his cult confined to this one center (the Tuscan Dominicans especially seemed to venerate him: see Kaf.-Tuscan, item no.45). Nevertheless, he died in Perugia (7 July 1304) and his relics remained in their shrine at San Domenico's. So the cult, if not the saint, is authentically local. Pope Benedict, the successor to Boniface VIII, fled from the disorders of Rome to Perugia,

and was preparing to sentence those who had taken part in the crime of Anagni, when he suddenly died.⁴⁴⁷ Local scholars indignantly deny Villani's story that certain cardinals had conspired to murder him by getting the nuns of Santa Petronilla to send him poisoned figs.⁴⁴⁸ The Bollandists are highly suspicious of the tale that he refused to recognize his poor old mother in the finery the Perugians had given her and waited until she resumed her familiar humble garb before acknowledging her.⁴⁴⁹ The Perugian Dominicans had every reason to be grateful to their papal confrère, for he enriched them with ecclesiastical possessions and he granted them their indulgence, which was meant to be the equal to the famous pardon which the Franciscans of Assisi enjoyed.⁴⁵⁰ Besides his corporeal relics, the Dominicans claim his walking-stick and some vestments.⁴⁵¹ Pope Benedict is represented on the Dominican's great stained-glass window (Santi-Guida, p.88), but his chief monument is his tomb, which dates from the first quarter of the 14th century and includes his statue, St.Dominic's, and that of his namesake St.Benedict (Guida, pp.103-4).⁴⁵² A cult of higher standing than that of the usual order beatus, yet receiving no apparent civic endorsement.

St. BEVIGNATE (14 May): hermit. The cult of St.Bevignate has been so fully and so competently described by Kern that an extended discussion would be superfluous.⁴⁵³ We know a good deal about the cult of St.Bevignate, but nothing certain is known about the saint. The earliest frescoes of his church, which date from the last quarter of the 13th century, show the saint as a hermit (cf. Raf. cols.89-92). Since we first hear about a cult in 1256, it is highly unlikely that the saint, whoever he was, existed in the remote past.

His cult and the flagellant movement of 1260 intersect; the common denominator seems to be the motif of penitence. From 1260 onwards, the Perugians made strenuous efforts to obtain Bevignate's canonization. The municipal aim of securing papal ratification of Bevignate's sanctity was enshrined in the statute books.⁴⁵⁴ Unfortunately, however, then as now solid evidence was lacking. Finally the Perugians despaired of achieving their ambition and simply recognized his feast day as an official holiday to be observed with the customary work abstentions. The decree of 22 April 1453 establishing St. Bevignate's civic feast kern calls "une veritable canonisation laique." The statute declares that although Bevignate's name won't be found in the catalogue of saints, his holy life and miracles assure his celestial glory.⁴⁵⁵ There seem to be no political or patronal overtones in St. Bevignate's cult; Perugia was content to ratify his local fama without ever turning to him as an intercessor.

B1. COLOMBA of Rieti (20 May): virgin. The cult of the Beata Colomba (d. 1501) begins when the period chosen for investigation ends. Any study of the rôle of the 'living saint' in Perugia would, however, find her career in the city and her relations with its rulers of considerable interest.⁴⁵⁶ Her spiritual kinship with St. Catherine of Siena, her ecstatic experiences and prophetic warnings, help to define an important type of living sanctity open to females in late 15th century Italy: the urban sibyl.⁴⁵⁷

B1. GILES of Assisi (23 April): confessor/order saint. The Vita beati fratris Gildii is a fascinating account of the spiritual progress, from the active to the contemplative life, of an early

disciple of St. Francis.⁴⁵⁸ Its author, however, was not at all interested in relating the external details of Giles's last years in Perugia, what the Perugians thought about Giles, how they preserved his relics, or how they honored his memory. The writer refers to "*miraculis plurimis in vita sua*," but makes no reference to the *miracula* which the Perugians compiled for him not long after his death.⁴⁵⁹ This *vita*, in other words, was clearly not designed to provoke a liturgical *cultus* for Brother Giles in Perugia. Salimbene calls him "*frater Egidius Perusinus*," although he quickly explains that Giles's life closed in Perugia, but did not open there.⁴⁶⁰ Giles (d. 1261) was still alive at the time of Perugia's great religious revival, the movement of the flagellants (1260).⁴⁶¹

In a charming interchange, the dying Brother Giles is supposed to have warned the Perugians, who had sent troops to insure that his relics would remain with them, that the bells would ring neither for his canonization nor for his miracles, and that his only sign would be that of the prophet Jonah. The Perugians are said to have responded nobly (and wholly out of character) that they would have him anyway.⁴⁶² Giles's dark saying about the prophet Jonah was illuminated when the Perugians found an early Christian sarcophagus to hold his remains: the story of Jonah was sculpted on it.⁴⁶³ In 1282, a testament provides: "*Item pro luminaribus pili fratris Egidii, quadraginta soldos denariorum.*"⁴⁶⁴ Giles's relics had been brought from Monte Ripido to San Francesco al Prato. Probably in the interests of security, they were concealed during the 14th century; and from this period we learn nothing about his cult.⁴⁶⁵

The 15th century brings the observance. The Bl. Giles, with his reputation for complete adherence to the original ideals of St. Francis,

must have been an inspiration to the Perugian Observantines of Monte Ripido. Nevertheless, it was the Conventuals of San Francesco al Prato who invented his relics in 1439; from 8 March 1439 to 28 March 1440, the city of Perugia disbursed funds to beautify Giles's resting place.⁴⁶⁶ It is significant that the inventio and the subsequent municipal benefactions took place around the time of Giles's feast day, providing indirect evidence of liturgical cult. Monte Ripido claims various non-corporeal relics.⁴⁶⁷ There is a 13th century image of the Bl. Giles in the parlor of Santa Giuliana.⁴⁶⁸ The 15th century panel which depicts five miraculous or ecstatic episodes of his career (the author of the Vita mentioned above would find some of the scenes a bit imaginative) was, according to tradition, made from a table on which his relics had once rested.⁴⁶⁹ A cult prompted by religious admiration; no suggestion of civic sentiment.

Bl. HENRY (13 March): pilgrim. The type of pilgrim saint who dies alone and whose sanctity is revealed through miracles came to Perugia in the form of Bl. Henry (d. 1415). Supposedly, after he expired in the hospital outside Porta S. Susanna, the bells of Sant'Andrea began to toll. Interred in that church, he worked miracles.⁴⁷⁰ His father was ^{believed to be} either the king of Dacia or the king of Denmark.⁴⁷¹ In 1457, the rector of Sant'Andrea, arguing that for years the relics of the beatus had worked wonders and that the saint's image had now been miraculously placed there, wondered if the priors might donate funds for a proper chapel; the request was granted and the chapel constructed within the year. Some of the most prominent men in the rione seem to have taken an interest in the cult of this obscure pilgrim.⁴⁷²

Bl. JOHN of Perugia (29 Aug.): martyr/order saint. Historians of Valencia have discussed the martyrdom of the Franciscans John of Perugia and Peter of Sassoferreto who had attempted to preach to the Muslims.⁴⁷³ The date of this event has been placed within the decade 1221-31. But a vital piece of evidence has usually been overlooked. In Perugia's San Prospero there is a votive image, a fresco representing the martyr John; he is shown wearing a nimbus. The painting carries the date 1225; here is a recognized Franciscan saint one year before the death of St. Francis (cf. Iaf., cols. 643-44).⁴⁷⁴ The martyrdom, therefore, must have antedated 1225.

Bl. MARTIN IV (?): pope. Apparently Pope Martin IV (b. c.1210; pope 1281; d.1285) was not honored with a cult outside Perugia. "His unpopularity with the Roman people led to his expulsion from the city, and he died at Perugia."⁴⁷⁵ The sole indication of a Perugian cult for Pope Martin comes from the 1342 municipal statutes which read: "la festa de sancto Martino papa quarto."⁴⁷⁶ Certainly merits further study.

Bl. PAULINUS BIGAMINI (4 May): confessor/order saint. This Silvestrine beatus (d.1280) was represented in two 15th century images in the church of Santa Maria Nuova, which was then a Silvestrine church and the residence of his relics (cf. Iaf., cols. 863-64).⁴⁷⁷

Urban Christianity and Civic History: Some reflections on the
Cult of Saints in Later Medieval Perugia.

Early Quattrocento Perugia, city and contado, had, on a conservative reckoning, a total population of around 40,000 to 50,000 inhabitants.⁴⁷⁸ Thus, however numerous her later medieval saint cults might have appeared to be, saints were still outnumbered by citizens. Indeed, a danger of a study such as this, is the creation of false impressions. A part is not the whole. The cult of saints in later medieval Perugia was neither co-extensive with urban Christianity, nor the exclusive outlet for civic sentiment. Marian feeling, largely ignored here, could assume patronal forms (as with a confraternity) or take an intercessory character (as in time of plague); but it also had a dimension peculiarly its own. Christocentrism could be particularly strong during periods of religious crisis or revival, as with the Perugian flagellants of 1260, the Perugian Bianchi of 1399, or the Perugian devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus, propagated by St. Bernardino. Although Perugia had its relic of the Holy Thorn and its Corpus Christi processions, Christocentrism, ordinarily, seems to have been more an aspect of personal than of collective religious experience. The cult of Christ the King in Renaissance Italy (in Savonarola's Florence, for example) did not mean that Christ ever became a communal patron on the lines of a patron saint. That would have been unthinkable. The cult of Christ stood against the tendency, prevalent since the late Duecento and greatly accelerated in the course of the next century, to localize Christianity, even to fuse it with the rituals, triumphs, and defeats of a particular city, a tendency which the cult of saints encouraged. Again and again, local

associations tended to turn the so-called universal saints of the hagiographic program into saints who were especially devoted to the welfare of the particular city and could even be described as its peculiar advocates and intercessors.

Local patriotism could, of course, draw on more resources than the cult of saints. The laudatio might praise the beauties of the city, its wealth, its buildings, and so on.⁴⁷⁹ Moreover, there were always eponymous heroes to provide a secular myth of urban origins — a classical past, perhaps, where the heroic sacrifice of the episcopal martyr did not count. Community solidarity would thus find pre-Christian roots in a past where there were no slaughtered saints. Perugia had its heroic founder, Eulistes. From the northern-most point of the Fontana Maggiore, he looks directly at Augusta Ierusia ^{at} and its southern-most point.⁴⁸⁰ The iconography of saints — on seals, on coins, clasping models of the city in their arms⁴⁸¹ did not exhaust municipal Staatssymbolik. Perugia has its griffin and its Guelf lion.

But saints had an incalculable advantage over heroes. They could be venerated at fixed occasions with great ecclesiastical ceremonies that were at the same time municipal rites. The magistrates, adopting new feasts, adding greater weight to an older, perhaps neglected cult, were able to regulate the relationship between urban Christianity and civic history, to commemorate civic occasions as events hallowed by God and his saints. Saints were also part of the topography of the city. They lent their names to churches, oratories, wells, districts of the city, and so on.

saints could be called upon as specialists in times of crisis like the plague. Occupational corporations, penitential confraternities, institutions of learning could display their unity and their highest values in the symbol of their patron saint.

In Perugia, the hagiographic program shows the vitality of the cult of saints. New saints continued to be received in the city throughout the medieval centuries. New saints were both imported and discovered in the city. New types of sanctity — the preacher, the ecstatic holy woman — came forward without ever diminishing enthusiasm for the great local and universal saints of the past. The vitality of the cult of saints in later medieval Perugia may be attributed not only to the functions which it could be made to serve but also to the variety and interest and fascination of the lives of those Christians who had been raised to the altars.

Chapter IV: NOTES.

1. Delehaye, "Loca sanctorum," loc.cit., p.23ff.
2. Ibid., pp.24-25.
3. Cf. Trier, loc.cit., pp.322-23.
4. Cited in A.Bini and G. Grazzini (eds.), "Documenti" in Rerum Italicarum Scriptores (Muratori; rev. ed.), Vol.XXIV, part 1 (Città di Castello, 1909), p.51.
5. Cf. Delehaye in AB, Vol.LI (1933), pp.161-62.
6. Cf. Coens in AB, Vol. LXXI (1953), p.262.
7. Cf. Coens in AB, Vol.LVII (1939), pp.427-28.
8. Delehaye, "Loca Sanctorum," loc.cit., p.36. Idem., AB, Vol.LI (1933), p.162.
9. Idem., "loca sanctorum," loc.cit., p.36.
10. For MSS. of vitae in the Biblioteca Comunale 'Augusta' of Perugia, see G. Mazzatinti, Inventari dei Manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia, Vol.V (Forlì, 1895) (A. Bellucci was responsible for the Perugian section). See also G.B. Vermiglioli, Bibliografia storico-perugina... (Perugia, 1823). On Perugian lauds, note especially V. de Bartholomaeis, Le Origini della poesia drammatica italiana (Bologna, 1924) (a work to be cited in the text as Bar.). Valuable for Perugian confraternities is O. Marinelli, Le Confraternite di Perugia dalle origini al secolo XIX. Bibliografia delle opere a stampa (Perugia, 1965).
11. Note the remarks of A. Mariotti, Saggio di Memorie istoriche civili ed ecclesiastiche della Città di Perugia Vol.I, part 1 (Perugia, 1806), pp.iv-vi. (Muratori did include Brachii perusini vita et gesta in Vol.XIX (Milan, 1731) of his collection, but this is hardly local history.)
12. These will be cited as necessary in the course of discussion. The work of Fabretti in editing many of these chronicles is noteworthy.
13. Discussion in C.F. Black, "The Baglioni as Tyrants of Perugia, 1488-1540," in the English Historical Review, Vol. LXXXV (1970), p.275 and footnotes. Note also the prefaces to the Perugian chronicles in the Archivio Storico Italiano, Vol.XVI parts 1 and 2 (Florence, 1850); F. Matarazzo, Chronicles of the City of Perugia, 1492-1503 (transl. E.S. Morgan) (London, 1905), p.viiff; Mariotti, op.cit., pp.vi-lxxi.
14. C.F. Black, Politics and Society in Perugia, 1488-1540 (Oxford University B.Litt. Thesis, 1966), p.ii. For editions of Pellini, idem., loc.cit., p.246, fnnt.2. The pagination of Pellini's volumes is highly irregular.
15. L. Bonazzi, Storia di Perugia (Perugia, 1875-79), 2 Vols.; W. Heywood, A History of Perugia (London, 1910); F. Guardabassi, Storia di Perugia (Perugia, 1933-35), 2 Vols.; E. Ricci's many

works of local art-history will be cited in the notes, but his La Chiesa di San Prospero e i pittori del duecento in Perugia (2nd ed.) (Perugia, 1929) deserves special mention; F. Santi has also published many worthwhile studies, but here his The National Gallery of Umbria, Perugia (2nd ed., Perugia, 1965) (to be cited in the text as Santi) and his Perugia, guida storico artistica (Perugia, 1950) (to be cited in the text as Santi-Guida) should be singled out.

16. To prevent the notes from becoming overburdened, several studies will be referred to in the text. Kaftal-Central will thus be shortened further to Kaf. For the Perugian archives, see the Ministero dell'Interno, Pubbl. degli Archivi di Stato, XXI (Rome, 1956). There is information on ecclesiastical matters in G. Cernicchi, L'Acronoli sacra di Perugia (Perugia, 1911).
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32. Cf. the article by Franceschini, loc.cit., p.287ff.
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206. Ibid., pp.342-43.
207. Ricci, Froscaro, p.47.
208. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.I, p.243.
209. Ibid., Vol.I, p.1094.
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211. For 1472, cf. ibid., Vol.II, p.721.
212. Ibid., Vol.I, pp.1006, 1009, 1012.
213. Many central Italian cults (especially from Tuscany and Umbria) had long been welcomed in Perugia: but evidence of later medieval veneration towards these saints - even of purely liturgical cultus - is necessarily fragmentary and these fragments have determined our index sanctorum. Garrison, Studies, and Lanzoni, Diocesi, are fine sources of general information.
214. Garrison, Studies, Vol.IV, p.322.
215. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.274-75; 280.
216. Cf. Heywood, op.cit., pp.193-201.
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220. See Heywood, op.cit., p.167.
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228. Ricci, Elisabetta, p.49 and notes.
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244. Siepi, op.cit., p.31. Cf. Crispolti, op.cit., p.8.
245. Ibid., p.82. Pellini discusses the matter (c.1333) and refers to a source (the book is not named) in the Dominican library of Perugia: op.cit., Vol.I, p.520.
246. Ibid. Vol.I, p.370.
247. Ibid., Vol.I, pp.398-99.
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249. Leccisotti and Tabarelli, op.cit., Vol.I, p.36, ftnt.1 cont.
250. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.1121-22.
251. Leccisotti and Tabarelli, op.cit., Vol.I, p.36, ftnt.1 cont.
252. Cf. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.357-58.
253. Fabretti, A.B.I., Vol.XVI.1, pp.412-13.
254. Interrogo, op.cit., n.5.
255. Funi, op.cit., p.105.
256. Briganti, op.cit., pp.226-27, 235, passim.
257. Leccisotti and Tabarelli: as ftnt.251.
258. Bombo, Urkunden, p.6ff.
259. Siepi, op.cit., p.52ff says 13th century, but this seems dubious. Also see Baldelli, "Laudi," p.39, and Bar., p.270. Note Lonaci, loc.cit., pp.233, ftnt.2, 239.
260. Lazzatinti, op.cit., 13.626 (I.19), p.165 (there are also hymns).
261. Cf. Lanzoni, Diocesi, Vol.I, p.549.
262. I must here acknowledge a general indebtedness to M. Grassli, L'Idola e il culto del santo patrono cittadino nella letteratura latina cristiana (Solems, 1965).

262. Lanzoni, Diocesi, Vol.I, n.550.
263. See van der Straeten in B, Vol.LXXII (1964), p.270.
264. Azzi, op.cit., Vol.II, n.63.
265. See LES I Jume (Paris, 1867), n.33ff. Iron. econ., n.224.
Lanzoni, Diocesi, Vol.I, nn.550-51. Garrison, Studies, Vol.IV,
n.322. Bib. Banc., Vol.V, col.361ff. Cf. Appendix 1, Vatic.
Lit. S. 6244.
266. Jacobilli, op.cit., Vol.I, p.607.
267. Cf. Ughelli, op.cit., Vol.I, col.1156.
268. Ardu, loc.cit., nn.94-95.
269. Kern, "Bevignate," p.42.
270. Cf. U. Nicolini, "Nuove Testimonianze su fra Raniero Fasani e
i suoi Disciplinati," Centro... sul Movimento dei Disciplinati,
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272. Azzi, op.cit., Vol.II, n.63.
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278. Nicolini, "Nuove Test.," p.16.
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282. Cf. Briganti in Il Tempio, p.104.
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pp.162-63. Cf. Cahier, op.cit., nn.752-53.
287. White, loc.cit., p.75. Cf. Heywood, op.cit., p.17-20.
288. Leclercq, loc.cit., Vol.XIV.1, col.393. LES III Nov., n.322.
Bib. Banc., Vol.IV, cols.1302-3.
289. Lanzoni, Diocesi, Vol.I, nn.453, 551.
290. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.I, nn.1233-34. Crispolti, op.cit., n.80.
291. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.II, p.834. Crispolti, op.cit., pp.69-70.
292. Ibid., p.80.
293. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.III, p.15.

294. Guardabassi, Storia, Vol.I, p.113.
295. V. Ansaldi (ed.), Repositum Reformationum Communis Ierusic ab anno MCCXVI ad annum MCC, Vol.I (Perugia, 1935), p.121.
296. Ibid., p.131.
297. about which see Heywood, op.cit., pp.13ff, 35, passim.
298. Cf. Symonds and Huff Gordon, op.cit., p.13.
299. A.P. Shedy, Bartolus on Social Conditions in the Fourteenth Century (New York, 1947), p.83 (cf. p.106).
300. Fabretti, A.S.I., Vol.XVI.1, p.62.
301. P.A. Ugolini (ed.), "Annali e Cronaca di Perugia in volgare dal 1191 al 1336," Annali della Facoltà di Lettere, Università di Perugia, Vol.I (1963-64), pp.200-1.
302. Ibid., n.210. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.I, p.491.
303. Heywood, Falio and Ponte, p.7, fnnt.1.
304. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.I, p.906.
305. Ibid., Vol.I, pp.1169, 1184; Vol.II, p.53.
306. Ibid., Vol.I, pp.446, 455. Cf. Symonds and Huff Gordon, op.cit., p.124.
307. Azzi, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.62-63; 90; 93; 244.
308. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.I, p.1122, Vol.II, p.797. Guardabassi, Storia, Vol.II, p.167.
309. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.I, p.1009. Cf. Heywood, op.cit., p.21.
310. See J. Brown, Augustine of Hippo (London, 1967), pp.193-94.
311. Heywood, Falio and Ponte, pp.138-43.
312. Cf. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.1151, 1244.
313. Ibid., Vol.II, p.16. Fabretti, A.S.I., Vol.XVI.1, p.252.
314. Ugolini, loc.cit., p.151. Fabretti, A.S.I., Vol.VI.1, p.56. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.I, p.1135, Vol.II, p.71. P.B. Long in Economic History Review, Vol.IX (2nd series) (1956-57), n.231.
315. See G.B. Vermiglioli, Della zecca e delle monete perugine... (Perugia, 1916); Corpus Nummorum Italicorum, Vol.XIV Umbria (Rome, 1933); R. Ciferri, Repertorio Alfabeticco di Numismatica (Pavia, 1963), 2 Vols.
316. G.B. Cervellini, "I Leonini delle città italiane," Studi Medioevali, n.s., Vol.VI (1933), pp.240, 243, 264. G.C. Bascapè, "I Sicilli dei comuni italiani nel medio evo e nell'età moderna," Studi di Paleografia... in onore di C. Lanaresi (Milan, 1953), p.73ff.
317. Azzi, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.135-6.
318. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.I, p.1206. Guardabassi, Storia, Vol.I, p.234.
319. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.I, p.1357.
320. Fabretti, A.S.I., Vol.VI.1, p.319.

- [illegible]

321. Heywood, op.cit., p.290, ftnt.4.
322. K. Kunstle, Ikonographie der Heiligen (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1926), p.297. E. Ricci, Leggende di San Lodovico e di Sant'Erco-
lano dipinte nella cappella del Palazzo dei Priori in Perugia
da Benedetto Bonfigli (Perugia, 1920), pp.11, 22-28.
323. Ibid., p.31.
324. Azzi, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.134-35. Note also his position on
guild statutes: cf. Briganti, op.cit., passim.
325. Ermini, op.cit., p.173.
326. Matarazzo, op.cit., p.31. Cf. Fumi, op.cit., p.104ff.
327. Note Bar., pp.278, 285; Monaci, loc.cit., pp.238-39. Cioni,
Bibliografia, p.126. Baldelli, "Laudi," p.39. Cf. Mazzatinti,
no.994 (M 17).
328. See Crispolti, op.cit., p.97. Jacobilli, op.cit., Vol.III,
p.359. Mittarelli, op.cit., Vol.II (Venice, 1755), p.52.
A.M. Zimmermann (ed.), Kalendarium Benedictinum (Vienna, 1934),
Vol.II, p.450. Also, Bib. Sanc., Vol.VIII, col.631.
329. Ibid., and Marinelli, Confrat., no.1373.
330. Ricci, Leggende, p.10.
331. Zimmermann, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.428, 430. Mostra... S.Pietro,
p.5. Also see Leccisotti and Tabarelli, op.cit., Vol.I, p.2,
ftnt.2; p.10, ftnt.12. Bib. Sanc., Vol.X, cols.725-28.
332. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.389-90.
333. See the Bull in Leccisotti and Tabarelli, op.cit., Vol.II, p.163ff.
334. Ibid., Vol.II, pp.168-71.
335. Fabretti, A.S.I., Vol.XVI.1, pp.410-11.
336. E.g. Archivio di Stato di Perugia, Mostra, pp.22-23.
337. Mazzatinti, op.cit., no.626 (I.19).
338. Briganti in Il Tempio, p.112.
339. A. Fantozzi, "Alcune Memorie intorno al Culto di S. Antonio di
Padova...", Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, Vol.XXXIII (1940),
p.231.
340. Pastor, op.cit., Vol.II, p.79.
341. Cf. Moorman, Franciscan Order, p.457ff.
342. D. Pacetti, "Cronologia Bernardiniana," in S. Bernardino da
Siena: Saggi e Ricerche (Milan, 1945), pp.452-62.
343. Ferrers Howell, op.cit., p.140.
344. Ibid., pp.141-42. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.293-94.
Fabretti, Cronache, Vol.II, pp.5-6. Idem, A.S.I., Vol.XVI.1,
pp.313-14.
345. Cf. the arguments of O. Bonmann, "Problemi critici riguardo ai
cosidetti 'Statuta Bernardiniana' di Perugia (1425-26)," extract
from Studi Francescani, Vol.LXII, nos.3-4 (1965), (Pistoia, n.d.).

346. Archivio di Stato di Perugia, Mostra, pp.16-17. E. Déprez, "L'Azione di s. Bernardino da Siena nella città di Perugia," Boll. della reg. deput. di Storia pat. per l'Umbria, Vol.VI (1900), pp.109-115. Cf. Fumi, op.cit., p.24.
347. Fabretti, Cronache, Vol.II, p.7. Idem., A.S.I., Vol.XVI.1, pp.323-24.
348. Ibid., p.434. Idem., Cronache, Vol.II, p.21.
349. Ferrers Howell, op.cit., p.189.
350. Fabretti, A.S.I., Vol.XVI.1, p.470.
351. Ferrers Howell, op.cit., pp.201-2.
352. Fabretti, A.S.I., Vol.XVI.1, pp.548-9.
353. Idem., Cronache, Vol.II, p.28.
354. Fabretti, A.S.I., Vol.XVI.1, p.626ff.
355. Cf. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.II, p.593.
356. See F. Santi, La Nicchia di s. Bernardino a Perugia (Milan, 1963).
357. G.M. Monti, Le Confraternite medievali dell'alta e media Italia, Vol.I, p.117.
358. Cf. Heywood, op.cit., pl.12. Bombe, "Gonf.," pp.2-3.
359. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.II, p.668.
360. Cf. Ricci, Colomba, p.153, ftnt.2, con't.
361. Ibid., pp.191, 124-25.
362. Ibid., p.142.
363. Ibid., p.142, ftnt.3ff.
364. Ibid., p.257, ftnt.1.
365. Cf. ibid., pp.184-86.
366. Ibid., p.291.
367. Potthast, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, Vol.II, p.1459.
368. See Appendix A, EUL. MS. 29: August.
369. Fabretti, A.S.I., Vol.XVI.1, p.55.
370. Marinelli, Compagnia, pp.17, 21 and ftnts. Pastor, op.cit., Vol.III, pp.49-51.
371. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.416, 302-3, 769-70.
372. E.g., Bl. Tommasello: Pellini, op.cit., Vol.I, p.298. Bib. Sanc., Vol.XII, cols.1534-6.
373. See Fabretti, A.S.I., Vol.XVI.1, pp.295-6, 493.
374. Azzi, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.63, 93-4, 342-3.
375. Cf. Ricci, Colomba, p.142, passim.
376. Ibid., pp.260-61.
377. See Guêze in Movimento, pp.597-623.
378. Bar., p.284. Idem., Laude drammatiche e Rappresentazioni sacre, Vol.I, (Florence, 1943), p.296ff.

379. Briganti, op.cit., p.217, ftnt.1.
380. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.I, p.232. Ricci, Elisabetta, p.8
(drawing, perhaps, as other writers have done, from Pellini).
381. Cf. Brooke, "St.Dominic," pp.30-34.
382. Cf. Reber, op.cit., p.74. Ricci, Elisabetta, pp.11-23.
383. Ibid., p.23. Reber, op.cit., pp.37-38.
384. Ricci, Elisabetta, pp.24-31ff.
385. Ibid., pp.24-26. Santi pp.5; 17, no.79; 19, no.111-14.
386. Salmareggi, op.cit., pp.17, 18, 19. Ricci in Il Tempio, p.56.
Also see Moorman, Franciscan Order, p.366.
387. Fr. Cuthbert, Francis, p.366.
388. R.B. Brooke, op.cit., p.142.
389. Casolini, op.cit., p.145.
390. Ansidei, Recestum, p.181.
391. Azzi, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.63, 342.
392. Fantozzi, loc.cit., p.228. See pp.227-31.
393. Cf. Il Tempio, p.29.
394. Ibid., p.30.
395. Baldelli in Movimento, p.627.
396. E.g. Ricci in Il Tempio, pp.24, 34ff, 36, 83. Santi, pp.17,
no.71-79; p.19, no.111-14, etc.
397. Salmareggi, op.cit., pp.65-68. Cf. Santi, p.26, no.178-9.
398. See AB, Vol.XX (1901), pp.231-32; also AB, Vol.XXVI (1907),
pp.367-8. The supposed Franciscanism of St.Louis might have
helped to give rise to the story.
399. Cf. the correct version in Toynbee, op.cit., p.201: it was in
Avignon.
400. These and other odd notions in Mariotti, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.461-62.
Pellini, op.cit., Vol.I, p.331.
401. Cf. AB, Vol.LXXIII (1955), p.528. Bertaux, loc.cit., paradox-
ically overemphasizes this fact when he discusses Perugia, p.643.
402. Opera Omnia, Vol.I, p.325 and see ftnt.1.
403. Fabretti, Cronache, Vol.I, pp.4-6.
404. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.430-31.
405. Ricci, Leggende, pp.7-3.
406. Azzi, op.cit., Vol.II, p.63.
407. See Guardabassi and Santi, pp.7-22.
408. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.II, p.474. Ricci, Leggende, pp.10-12.

409. Cf. Ibid., pp.14-22 for the iconography (which is not blatantly political) and pp.8-10 for religious aspects of St.Louis's cult in Perugia (e.g. a putative local miracle).
410. Bombe, Urkunden, p.6.
411. Idem., "Gonfal.," pp.2-3.
412. Hefele, op.cit., p.96.
413. See AASS, III April (Paris, 1860), p.710.
414. Ardu, loc.cit., p.87.
415. Ricci, Colomba, p.178.
416. Idem., Prospero, pp.134-35.
417. Cf. Fantozzi, loc.cit., p.229, ftnt.1.
418. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.II, p.630.
419. Fabretti, Cronache, Vol.II, p.9. Idem., in A.S.I., Vol.XVI.1, p.342.
- 418a.Cf. Bombe, "Gonf.," pp.2-3.
- 419a.Marinelli, Compagnia, p.17, ftnt.18.
420. Ibid., p.47.
421. Baldelli in Movimento, p.356.
422. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.629-30.
423. Ricci, Colomba, pp.205-6, ftnt.1.
424. S. Jiepi, Descrizione topologico-istorico della città di Perugia (Perugia, 1822), Vol.I, p.61.
425. For Conrad in the Fioretti, see Chapters XLIII-IV (either Casella or Padovan ed.).
426. Cf. AB, Vol.AXXIX (1921), p.423.
427. Cf. Bib. Sanc., Vol.IV, cols.206-7.
428. Note II. Reeves, The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages (Oxford, 1969), pp.416-17.
429. Sabatier, op.cit., p.441.
430. Ugolini, loc.cit., p.198. Cf. Heywood, op.cit., p.121ff.
431. Moorman, Franciscan Order, p.376. Bib. Sanc., Vol.VI, cols. 646-53.
432. See J. Dusserre, Les Origines de la dévotion à saint Joseph (Montreal, 1953-54), and especially, J. Seitz, Die Verehrung des Hl. Joseph (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1908).
433. Cf. E. Ricci, Storia del Sant'Anello (Perugia, 1942); A. Rossi, L'anello sponsalizio di Maria Vergine che si venera nella cattedrale di Perugia. Leggenda (Perugia, 1857).
434. Kellner, op.cit., p.355.
435. Cf. Ricci, Colomba, p.82. Natarazzo, op.cit., pp.7-8.

436. L. de Besse, Les bienheureux Bernardin de Feltre (Tours/Paris, 1902) Vol.I, pp.44-7. Iturza, op.cit., p.2.
437. Fabretti, Gronache, Vol.II, p.103.
438. E.g., Bombe, "Gonfal.," pp.3-4. Idem., Urkunden, p.23. Picciari, p.456.
439. For the identification, see Marinelli, Confrat., no.910.
440. Cf. Bib. Sanc., Vol.IX, cols.953-68.
441. Ricci, Elisabetta, pp.38-46, and ftnts.
442. Fabretti, I.S.I., Vol.XVI.1, p.580.
443. Identification from: Marinelli, Confrat., no.944.
444. Heywood, op.cit., p.248.
445. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.I, p.1037.
446. Ibid., Vol.I, p.1119.
447. Boase, op.cit., p.357, and notes.
448. Guardabassi, Storia, Vol.I, p.158.
449. See AB, Vol.IV (1937), pp.166-67.
450. Ugolini, loc.cit., p.172. Fabretti, I.S.I., Vol.XVI.1, p.60. Cernicchì, op.cit., p.70. Note: A. Lupattelli, Benedetto XI in Perugia (Rome, 1903), pp.3-13.
451. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.I, p.335.
452. Cf. for general account, Bib. Sanc., Vol.II, 1194-1202. Bombe, Perugia, p.62.
453. Kern, "Bevignate", p.39ff. See also Bonnard in BOGE, Vol.VIII (Paris, 1935), col.1292-93.
454. Anzi, op.cit., Vol.II, p.349.
455. Kern, "Bevignate," and also B. Astur (pseud.), Colomba da Nieti (Rome, 1967).
457. This is quite apparent from a reading of de Ganay (op.cit.).
458. R.B. Brooke (ed. & transl.), Scripta Leonis, Rufini et Angeli, Sociorum S. Francisci (Oxford, 1970), p.307ff. Note also F.C. Burkitt, "Brother Giles of Perugia," Franciscan Essays II (British School of Franciscan Studies, extra series, Vol.III) (Manchester, 1932), pp.57-66. Finally: A.J. Seton, Blessed Giles of Assisi (Manchester, 1918).
459. Brooke, Scripta Leonis, p.348. See: B. Lericidium, de Signis et Miraculis: Acta III (Lille). P. Robinson (ed.), The Golden Sayings of the Blessed Brother Giles of Assisi (London, 1907), p.xlii, and ftnt.79.
460. Holder-Egger, op.cit., p.184, and ftnt.6ff.
461. I intend to consider some implications of this in an essay on Joachimism and the Flagellants of 1260.
462. Holder-Egger, op.cit., p.557. Salazar y, op.cit., pp.61-2.

463. Ibid., pp.63-64. Cf. Holder-Egger, op.cit., p.557.
464. Nicolini in Movimento, p.377.
465. Salmareggi, op.cit., p.75.
466. Fantozzi, loc.cit., pp.231-33. Cf. Ricci in Il Tempio, pp.42-3.
467. Briganti in Il Tempio, p.100.
468. Ricci, Prospero, p.134.
469. Cf. Santi, p.23, no.16. Robinson, op.cit., pp.xliv-xlv.
470. See the comprehensive account in Bib. Sanc., Vol.IV, col.1231-32.
471. Crispolti, op.cit., p.87. Pédica, p.41.
472. Pellini, op.cit., Vol.II, p.641.
473. Cf. R.I. Burns, The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), Vol.I, pp.198-99. Also, Bib. Sanc., Vol.VI, cols.1052-53.
474. E. Ricci, Il più antico Divinto Francescano (Perugia, 1910). Idem., Prospero, pp.29-30.
475. Cross, op.cit., p.865.
476. Azzi, op.cit., Vol.II, p.63.
477. Bib. Sanc., Vol.III, cols.186-7. Cf. Zimmermann, op.cit., Vol.II, p.186.
478. Partner, op.cit., p.430.
479. J.K. Hyde, "Medieval Descriptions of Cities," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Vol.XLVIII (1965-66), pp.308-340. Also W. Braunfels, Mittelalterliche Stadtbaukunst in der Toskana, (Berlin, 1953).
480. Cf. A.I. Galletti, "Considerazioni per una interpretazione dell'Eulisteia," Archivio Storico Italiano, Vol.CXXVIII (1970), pp.305-334.
481. P. Lavedan, Representation des villes dans l'art du moyen âge (Paris, 1954).

APPENDIX A

Selected Liturgical Documents Pertaining to the
Later Medieval Cult of Saints in Perugia.

Ce serait chose aisée de suivre, tout au long des siècles, l'évolution du sanctoral d'une Église ou d'un monastère, si nous avions garde, plus ou moins complète, la série des livres liturgiques qui y furent en usage. —M.Coens in AB, Vol.LXXII (1954), p.85.

But of course this is where the difficulty lies. The necessary evidence is often dispersed in a great number of MS. collections, accurately catalogued or not, held by famous or obscure libraries scattered throughout Europe and America and less accessible corners of the globe. What survives, moreover, may be merely a random sample of what once existed. From such fragmentary liturgical sources it would be foolhardy to hope to reconstruct the cult of saints in its fullness of development at any but a comparatively few, richly endowed localities. Besides, liturgical documents by themselves cannot always provide sufficient detail.

Insertions on calendars, for example, can mean, among other things, that the newly inserted feasts were adopted in the area after the calendar was originally copied; but it is also possible that these feasts, although already observed in the religious center, had been inadvertently omitted from the new calendar, perhaps through scribal error, perhaps because they had not yet been added to the calendar from which the copy was made. And if the calendar was being utilized in a center other than the one for which it was originally intended, new feasts would have to be superimposed and some previous entries erased.

So, if one hopes "to establish, on the basis of full knowledge of the religious history of each center, the roster of saints specially venerated there" (Garrison, *Studies*, Vol.I, p.128), the limitations of purely liturgical sources must be appreciated. Cults confined to a single religious house, or the more fleeting forms of popular veneration may be completely lacking in liturgical documentation. Other historical sources must be brought to bear.

ANNEX A (con't)

evertheless, liturgical evidence is immensely valuable. Be de Gaiffier has asked ("Saints et 1^{er} ordiers", loc.cit., p.256, and cf. his 'Verball delle sedute' in the same Convegno, p.52.):

Ne pourrait-on entreprendre le catalogue methodique
des livres liturgiques manuscrits de l'Ombrie, comme
V. Leroquais l'a fait pour la France?

The small selection of texts included or discussed below is
is intended as a very modest contribution towards this arduous
but rewarding enterprise.

The MSS. to be discussed, summarized, or reproduced are
arranged in the following order:

- I. Documents of Perugian Provenance.
- II. Documents of Possible Perugian Provenance.
- III. Documents Eliminated from Consideration.

I. Documents of Perugian Provenance

When it has not been possible to inspect at first hand any of the liturgical documents considered here, the accompanying comments should make this fact plain immediately. Full descriptions of MSS. have not been provided, but, as the printed catalogues where such descriptions appear are always indicated, the particulars are easily accessible. Practice in this and other matters has been guided by Wormald's previously cited English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D.1100. The works of Attwater; van Dijk and Walker (The Origins of the modern Roman Liturgy); and Delehaye (Pro pylaeum ad AASS. Decembris) have all proved useful. In nearly every instance the original documents have been reproduced; errors and spelling peculiarities have ordinarily been reproduced as well. Following medieval scribal practice, and for the same motive of saving space, abbreviations have been introduced. Hopefully the reader will not find them puzzling. Marts., however inelegant, seems to be clearer than either mm. or marti., and certainly preferable to writing out martitium. The notes are not intended to be exhaustive.

Despite strong personal views in favor of reproducing complete calendars, a compromise of some sort has proved necessary, and only with EUL. MS.29 has this goal of completeness been attained.

Undoubtedly part of the fascination of examining calendars is the historical detective work involved in attempting to solve the many problems of identifying obscure saints and, above all, discovering the reasons for a particular cult. From the notes, it should be clear to the reader that mysteries requiring further detection remain.

The MSS. follow in this roughly chronological sequence:

University of Edinburgh Library (EUL) MS.29
Santa Maria Maggiore MS.51
MSS. in the Biblioteca Capitolare of Perugia
Biblioteca Comunale 'Augusta' (Perugia) MS.1115
Biblioteca Comunale 'Augusta' (Perugia) MS.E.46
Biblioteca Comunale 'Augusta' (Perugia) MS.D.8
Victoria and Albert Reid MS.68

University of Edinburgh Library (EUL.) MS.29.

This MS is discussed in expert fashion by Catherine R. Borland in her Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Mediaeval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library (Edinburgh, 1916), where (pp.43-45, no.29 (Laing MS.25)) it is described as a Cistercian Collectarium, Fourteenth Century (Italian). Of the sanctoral, Borland says that "the addition of the feminine forms in the prayers and of several female saints, notably St. Juliana, throughout, seem to point to its later sojourn in a Cistercian nunnery. It does not appear in the first instance to have been written for nuns" (p.45). Neither the sanctoral nor the litanies show any sign of original Perugian provenance (ibid., cf. p.44.), but the calendar is a different matter.

The calendar (ff.1-6), bound together with the rest of the MS., was similarly truncated at the top, side, and possibly the bottom, sometime after it was written. Hence commemorations (co.) placed far to the sides often do not appear. The calendar can be definitely localized on the basis of its contents. Borland comments: "A Perugian provenance is clearly indicated, with Sienese connections. The significance of the obit of John of Toledo (13 July), an English Cistercian who became Bishop of Porto and Santa Rufina in 1262 (sic), is not quite clear" (p.45). John, called the 'Albus Cardinalis' from his white Cistercian habit, was the founder of the Perugian nunnery of Santa Giuliana, a convent affiliated to the Sienese monastery of San Galgano (cf. 13 July, 3 Dec., and ftnts.). There can be no doubt that the calendar was manufactured especially for the nuns of Santa Giuliana. The Cistercian nature of the calendar as well as its distinctly Perugian features can best be brought out when compared to the Cistercian calendar statutes discussed in the previously cited article by Backaert. Unfortunately the calendar of EUL. MS.29 cannot be dated as precisely as it can be situated. The latest unambiguous original entry seems to be the double for St. Catherine of Alexandria, which comes into the Cistercian calendar in 1300 (see November, ftnt. 5). Ambiguous and indirect evidence might push the time of composition to post-1321 (cf. May, ftnt. 1). Furthermore, it is likely but by no means certain that

the original calendar was copied before 1376 when the translatio of St. Juliana took place (see August, fnt. 3). Tentatively, the calendar may be assigned to the mid-fourteenth century.

For paleographical assistance in the study of this MS., I am indebted to Drs. N.R. Ker and K. Fowler. Errors and mis-readings are my own.

1. Circumcisio domini. xii.lc. (red)
2. Octava sancti Stephani. co.
3. Octava sancti Johannis. co. Genofegie.¹
4. Octava Innocentium. co.
- 5.
6. Epiphania domini. xii.lc. (red)
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
10. Sancti Viliemi ep. et conf. xii.lc.² Sancti Pauli primi erem (ite).cc
11. Commemoratio episcoporum et abbatum.³ (red)
- 12.
13. Octava epiphanie. xii.lc. Hilarii et Remigii ep. co.
14. Felicis presbit (eri) et conf.
15. Mauri abbatis.
16. Marcelli pap. et mart.
17. Antonii conf. xii.lc. Speusippi Eleusippi et Meleusippi mart.
18. Prisce virg. et. mart.
- 19.
20. Fabiani et Sebastiani marts. xii.lc. (red)
21. Agnetis virginis. xii.lc.
22. Vincentii mart. xii.lc. (red)
23. Emerentiane virg. et. mart. co.
- 24.
25. Conversio sancti Pauli. xii.lc. (red) Prajecti ep. et mart.
- 26.
- 27.
28. Agnetis secundi. Juliani ep. et conf. Calius. xii.lc.⁴
29. Sancti Constantii epis. et mart. xii.lc. (red)⁵
- 30.
- 31.

NOTES

1. I.e. St. Geneviève.
2. I.e. St. William of Bourges (d.1209), Cistercian archbishop (Attwater, op.cit., p.312). Backaert, p.85, does not note when he enters Cistercian calendars.
3. Backaert, p.85, continues defunctorum ordinis nostri, and says that it is found in the earliest Cistercian MSS.
4. If this is a saint and not a misreading for Claves (cf. Wormald, Vol.1. p.2), I have not been able to discover his identity. He does not appear in Backaert, p.87. There is a Callinicus who along with Thyrsus, Leucius and companions figures as a martyr sub Decio for the 28th January (cf. BHL, Vol.11, p.1197). Other possibilities in AASS, Jan. 111 (Brussels, 1863), pp.422-23.
5. A distinctive localization; this date was blank in the medieval Cistercian calendar: Backaert, p.87.

February (EUL MS. 29)

1. Ignatii ep. et mart. Brigide virginis
2. Ypapanti domini. xii.lc. (red)
- 3.
- 4.
5. Agathe virginis et mart. xii.lc.
6. Vedasti et Amandi episcoporum. co.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
10. Sotheris virginis et mart. co. Scolastice virg.
- 11.
- 12.
- 13.
14. Valentini mart. co. Vitalis Felicule Zenonis (marts.)
- 15.
16. Juliane virginis et mart. xii.lc. (red)¹
- 17.
- 18.
- 19.
- 20.
- 21.
22. Cathedra sancti Petri. xii.lc. (red)
- 23.
24. Mathie apost. xii.lc.
- 25.
- 26.
- 27.
- 28.

NOTES

1. In the general Cistercian calendar, St. Juliana's feast appears as a simple commemoration (cf. Backaert, p.89); its rubrication here is indicative of special veneration.

March (EUL MS. 29)

1. Herculani ep. et mart. xii.lc. (red)¹ Albinus ep. co.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
7. (Thome conf. de ordine fratrum predicatorum)²
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.
- 11.
12. Gregorii pape xii.lc. (red)
- 13.
- 14.
- 15.
- 16.
- 17.
- 18.
- 19.
20. Cuthberti ep. et conf. co.³
21. Benedicti abbatis xii.lc. (red)
- 22.
- 23.
- 24.
25. Annuntiatio dominica xii.lc. (red)
- 26.
- 27.
- 28.
- 29.
- 30.
- 31.

NOTES

1. Distinctive localization; St. Albinus alone figures for 1 March in the medieval Cistercian calendar (cf. Backaert, p.90).
2. Inserted in a different hand in the original calendar. An eighteenth century(?) writer has added the date 1323 to the insertion. This was of course the year of St. Thomas Aquinas's canonization. Officially, he was welcomed in Cistercian calendars after 1329 (Backaert, p.90, and ftnt.55).
3. St. Cuthbert was commemorated by statute in Cistercian calendars after 1226 (Backaert, p.91 ftnt. 60).

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
4. Ambrosii ep. xii.lc.¹
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.
- 11.
- 12.
- 13.
14. Tiburtii et Valeriani et Maximi (marts.) co.
- 15.
- 16.
- 17.
- 18.
- 19.
- 20.
- 21.
- 22.
23. Georgii mart. co.
- 24.
25. Marci evangeliste xii.lc. (red)
- 26.
- 27.
28. Vitalis mart. (erasure here)²
29. Roberti conf. xii.lc. (red)³
30. Petri mart. xii.lc.⁴

NOTES

1. Following this entry comes a postmedieval insert: 1397.15 xlv.
2. Peter Martyr's name was once entered here (cf. April 30th and ftnt. 4). The error appears to have been a purely scribal matter. Although the Cistercians originally placed the feast of this Dominican saint on the 28th of April (it was moved to the 30th in 1256: Backaert, p.94 and ftnts. 87,88), the mistaken placement of the saint offers no clue to the dating of the MS., which was undoubtedly composed well after 1255-56.
3. St. Robert of Molesmes (d.1110) was first abbot of Citeaux. In 1222 the Cistercians celebrated his feast on the 17th of April, but in 1224 they shifted his date to the 29th (Backaert, p.93 and ftnt.73; 94, ftnt.82). Borland, correctly names his feast as one of the distinctive marks of Cistercian provenance for this calendar but through a typographical error assigns it to the 20th of the month (p.44).
4. Ultra-violet light make the identification of this very faded entry certain. According to Backaert (p.94, ftnts.87, 88), the Dominicans persuaded Pope Alexander IV to command the inclusion of Peter Martyr's feast in the Cistercian calendar (1 August 1255). Hence this entry cannot be taken as proof of special local veneration for the saint.

1. Philippi et Iacobi xii.lc. (red) (̄erasure: Ugonis)¹ abbatis
- 2.
3. Inventio sancte Crucis xii.lc. Alexandri Eventii et Theoduli marts.
- 4.
- 5.
6. Johannis ante portam latinam xii.lc. co.²
- 7.
8. Petri ep. xii.lc. (red)³ (̄apparito sancti Michaelis archang.)⁴
- 9.
10. Gordiani et Epimachi mart. co.
11. Mamerti ep. co.
12. Nerei Achillei atque Pancratii (̄marts.) co.
13. Servatii ep. et conf. co.
- 14.
- 15.
- 16.
- 17.
- 18.
19. Potentiane Virginis (̄ymonis presb. conf.)⁵ co.
20. (̄ommemoratio omnium defunctorum ordinis nostri)⁶
- 21.
- 22.
23. Desideri ep. et mart. co.
24. Donatiani et Rogatiani marts. co.
25. Urbani pap. et mart.
- 26.
- 27.
- 28.
- 29.
- 30.
31. Petronille virg. co.⁷

NOTES

1. Ugonis may be clearly seen under ultra-violet light. The placement of a St. Hugh at 1 May was due to a scribal error. Determining how the scribe erred is sometimes possible, and here may be reduced to two alternatives. Since May and April face one another, there was always the chance that an April first Hugh could mistakenly become the Ugonis abbatis of May first. April first has a Bl. Hugh, Cistercian Abbot of Bonnevaux (cf. Backaert, p.92, and ftnt.67), and a St. Hugh, Bishop of Grenoble (Attwater, op.cit., p.141). But it is more likely that St. Hugh, Abbot of Cluny, venerated by the Cistercians on the 29th April, from 1321, was the victim of our confused scribe, who brought him forward a couple of days (cf. Backaert, p.94, ftnts, 85, 86).
2. In 1246 the Cistercians elevated the status of this feast, from a simple commemoration and Mass, on the request of the Cistercian Cardinal John of Toledo (Backaert, p.302, and ftnt.90).
3. This is the Cistercian St. Peter of Tarentaise (d.1175) whose feast was made a double in 1294 (cf. Backaert, p.302, ftnts.92,93).
4. Dr. N.R. Kerr thought that the insertion could easily have been made by a fifteenth century hand. The feast was not adopted for the entire Cistercian Order until 1656 (Backaert, p.303, ftnt.95).
5. The commemoration of St. Yves was thus inserted into the original calendar. The Cistercians honored him from 1348 (Backaert, p.303, and ftnt.97).
6. Another insert. In 1350 the commemoration of deceased order brethren was specified by the Cistercian statutes (Backaert, p.303, and ftnt.98).
7. A faded entry, made legible by ultra-violet light.

1. Nicomedis mart. co.
2. Marcellini et Petri marts. co.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
8. Medardi ep. co.
9. Primi et Feliciani marts. co.
- 10.
11. Barnabe apostoli xii.lc.
12. Basilidis Cirini Naboris et Nazarii marts.
- 13.
- 14.
15. Viti mart. co.
16. Quirici et Julitte marts. co.
- 17.
18. Marci et Marcelliani marts.
19. Gervasii et Protasii marts.
- 20.
- 21.
22. Albani mart.
23. Vigilia
24. Nativitas sancti Johannis xii.lc. (red)¹
- 25.
26. Johannis et Pauli (marts.) xii.lc.
- 27.
28. Vigilia apostl. Leonis pape Hyrenei cum soc.
29. Natale apostl. Petri et Pauli (red)
30. Commemoratio sancti Pauli xii.lc. Martialis ep.

NOTES

1. The feast is, of course, in honor of St. John the Baptist whose vigil appears on the 23rd.

1. Octave sancti Johannis Baptiste
2. Processi et Martiniani mart.
- 3.
4. Translatio sancti Martini ep.
- 5.
6. Octava apostolorum
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
10. Sanctorum septem fratrum (marts.)
11. Translatio sancti Benedicti
- 12.
13. Obiit reverendus pater bone memorie dominus Johannes
14. et sancte Rufine episcopus et fundator (red)¹ Anicleti mart.²
- 15.
- 16.
- 17.
- 18.
- 19.
20. (Sancte Margarete virginis et mart. (red))³
21. Praxedis virginis
22. Marie Magdalene xii.lc. (red)
23. Apolinaris ep. et mart.
24. Christine virginis et mart.
25. Jacobi apost. xii.lc. (red) Christofori et Cucufati
26. (Sancte Anne matris)⁴
- 27.
28. Nazari Celsi et Pantaleonis marts.
29. Felicis co. Simplicii Faustini et Beatricis
30. Abdon et Sennen mart. co.
31. Germani ep. co.

NOTES

1. John of Toledo was the English Cistercian cardinal who founded the nunnery of Santa Giuliana in 1253. He was created cardinal-priest of St. Laurentius in Lucina (28 May 1244) and afterwards elevated to cardinal-bishop of Porto and St. Rufina (24 December 1261); he died, shortly after the Second Council of Lyons, in 1275. For the most thorough investigation of his life and career, see Grauert, op.cit., a reference which I owe to the kindness of Professor C.R. Cheney. F. Ughelli, Italia Sacra, Vol.1 (ed. Venice, 1717-22), col. 137, cites a commemoration for 'Joannis Cardinalis Portuensis' from a 'martyrologio antiquo' of Santa Giuliana, which Kaftal (Central, col.645, ftnt.1) says is now lost. John is described as 'fundator et pater' of the convent in a fresco inscription, and in this fresco, which the nuns had painted in 1376, John appears with Saints Juliana and Christopher, and around his head are rays (ibid). Such a halo, by itself, does not constitute proof of liturgical cult, and certainly the obit in this calendar does not give any grounds for asserting that a cult existed. Dr. Kerry agreed that the obit was original to the calendar. This is surely unquestionable evidence that the calendar was manufactured for or at the Perugian nunnery.
2. I.e. St. Anacletus; this entry is also original, and there is no evidence to suggest that it was ever positioned elsewhere.
3. Borland (p.44) makes the inserted feast of St. Margaret fall on the 19th. Ordinarily the Cistercians seem to have kept this feast as a simple commemoration, although particular monasteries were allowed to accord it greater honor (Backaert, p.310, and ftnt.137). That the cult of the virgin martyr of Antioch should prove popular in a female convent is not unexpected. Furthermore, the later Middle Ages saw increasing interest in her veneration (c.f. Van Dijk, Origins, p.389; and Tables B, C, H).
4. Another insertion: matris very faded. Marie effaced.

1. Ad vincula sancti Petri xii.lc. Machabeorum marts.
2. Stephani pape mart.
3. Inventio sancti Stephani protomart. xii.lc. (red)
- 4.
5. Dominici confessoris xii.lc.¹
6. Systi pape et mart. co. Felicissimi et Agapiti marts. co.
7. Donati ep. et mart. co.
8. Cyriaci cum soc.²
9. Vigilia sancti Laurentii. Romani mart. co.
10. Laurentii mart. (red)
11. Tyburtii mart. Festum sancte Corone xii.lc.
- 12.
13. Ypolita cum soc. suis co.
14. Vigilia sancte Marie. Eusebii presb. co.
15. Assumptio sancte Marie xii.lc. (red)
- 16.
17. Octava sancti Laurentii co. Mametis mart. co.
18. Agapiti mart.
19. Magni mart.
20. Sancti Bernardi abbatis xii.lc. (red)
- 21.
22. Octava sancte Marie xii.lc. Tymothei et Simphoriani
- 23.
24. Bartholomei apost. xii.lc. (red)
25. (Translatio beate Juliane virg. et mart. xii.lc. (red)]³ co.
26. (Sancti Ludovici conf. xii.lc. (red)]⁴ Genesii mart.
27. Rufi mart.
28. Augustini ep. xii.lc. (red) Hermetis mart. co.
29. Decollatio sancti Johannis baptiste xii.lc. (red) [Sabine virg]⁵
30. Felicis et Aduacti marts. xii.lc.
- 31.

NOTES

1. The feast of St. Dominic was adopted by the Cistercians in 1255 (cf. Backaert, p.311, and ftns. 153, 154.)
2. The martyred companions of St. Cyriacus who are usually mentioned with him are Saints Largus and Smaragdus.
3. The present insertion—the translation of St. Juliana—was entered after the previous entry had been erased. Since St. Genesius was venerated on the 25th (cf. Backaert, p.313) and his feast appears to be in the original hand, it has not been displaced, but rather entered on the next line, probably because the original feast inscribed on the 25th was of some length. The 25th of August was the date of 'Sancti Ludovici confessoris regis Francorum' and it is therefore likely that this feast was originally entered here, especially as it has been displaced to the 26th and written in the same hand as that of the scribe who inserted the translatio of St. Juliana. The translatio occurred in 1376 when the abbess of Santa Giuliana obtained the relics of the convent's patron saint from the Dominicans of Perugia (see the discussion in Chapter IV), on a date evidently chosen with some care. The 25th did not conflict with the important feast of the Assumption, and it fell in the same month as the feast of the Dominican's founder.
4. Originally this space was probably blank in our calendar. St. Louis's feast had been adopted by the Cistercians in 1298. (Backaert, p.313, and ftn.166).
5. This seems to be a very late, possibly post-medieval insert.

1. (Octava beate Juliane virg. et mart. xii.lc. (red)]¹ Prisci²
2. (Beati Egidii abbatis xii.lc. (red)]³
- 3.
4. Marcellini mart. co.⁴
- 5.
- 6.
7. Ennursi ep.⁵
8. Nativitas sancte Marie virginis (red) Adriani mart.
9. Gorgonii mart.
- 10.
11. Proti et Iacinti marts.
- 12.
- 13.
14. Exaltatio sancte Crucis (red) Cornelli. Cypriani
15. Octava sancte Marie virg. xii.lc. (red)⁶ Nicomedis
16. Eufemie virg. co. Lucie et Geminiani marts.
17. Lamberti ep. et mart. xii.lc.
- 18.
19. Sequani abbatis
20. Vigilia sancti Mathæi apost.
21. Nativitas sancti Mathei apost. xii.lc. (red)
22. Mauriti cum sociis suis
- 23.
24. Andochii. Tyrsi. et Felicis marts.
- 25.
- 26.
27. Cosme et Damiani marts.
- 28.
29. Michaelis archangeli xii.lc. (red)
30. Jeronimi presb. xii.lc. (red)

NOTES

1. An insert, apparently by the same scribe who inserted the translatio in August. The previous entry had been erased. St. Giles is normally venerated on the first of September (this is when the Cistercians celebrated his feast, see ftnt.3 below) and so it is probable that his feast has been displaced by the octave of the translation. The existence of such an octave underscores the importance of the translation to the nuns of Santa Giuliana.
2. The commemoration of this saint is an original part of the Cistercian hagiographic program (Backaert, p.314). There is a wide erased space between the end of the inserted octave and the name of this saint.
3. Blank in the Cistercian calendar and probably blank here before this insertion was made. No signs of an erasure under St. Giles, but the ink is streaked, and the script is identical with that of the octave of St. Juliana. There was a commemoration of St. Giles (for 1 September) laid down in the Cistercian statutes from 1221, which was raised to a commemoration and a Mass in 1263 (Backaert, p.314, and ftnt. 171). Rubrication indicates special veneration here. Could this be explained by the fact that in 1292 the magistrates of Perugia conceded the castle of Sant'Egidio di Colle to the nuns of Santa Giuliana? (Ricci, Prospero, p.118).
4. I.e. St. Marcellus (Marcelli).
5. I.e. St. Evurtius (Evurtii).
6. With perhaps slight erasure and possibly by the same hand which inserted the translation and octave of St. Juliana, rubrication has been applied over faded black ink.

1. Remigii ep. xii.lc. (red) Germani et Vedasti confs.
2. Leo ep. et mart.¹
- 3.
4. Francisci conf. xii.lc.²
- 5.
- 6.
7. Marci pape co. Marcelli Apulei Sergi et Bacci marts. co.
- 8.
9. Dionisii cum sociis suis xii.lc.
- 10.
- 11.
- 12.
- 13.
14. Calixti pape et mart. co.
- 15.
- 16.
- 17.
18. Luce evangeliste xii.lc. (red)
- 19.
- 20.
21. Vndecim milia virginii xii.lc.
- 22.
- 23.
- 24.
25. Crispini et Crispiniani mart. co.
- 26.
27. Vigilia apostolorum Symonis et Iude co.
28. Nat. apost. Symonis et Iude xii.lc. (red)
- 29.
- 30.
31. Vigilia omnium sanctorum Quintini mart. co.

NOTES

1. I.e. St. Leger (Leodegarii).
2. St. Francis was introduced into the Cistercian calendar in 1228, and his feast was raised to twelve lessons in 1259 (Backaert, p. 108, ftns. 188, 189).

1. Festivitas omnium sanctorum xii.lc. (red)
2. Commemoratio omnium fidelium defunctorum
- 3.
- 4.
5. Malachie ep. xii.lc.
- 6.
7. (Decollatio sancti Herculani ep. et mart. xii.lc.)¹
8. Quattuor coronatorum
9. Theodori mart.
- 10.
11. Martini ep. xii.lc. (red) Menne mart.
- 12.
13. Bricii ep.
- 14.
- 15.
16. Edmundi ep. xii.lc.²
17. Aniani ep.
- 18.
19. Helysabeth³
20. Commemoratio parentum nostrorum⁴
21. Columbani abbatis
22. Cecilie virginis et mart. xii.lc. (red)
23. Clementis pape et mart. xii.lc. (red) Felicitatis mart.
24. Grisochoeni mart.
25. Caterine virg. et mart. xii.lc. (red)⁵
- 26.
27. Agricole et Vitalis marts.
- 28.
29. Vigilia sancti Andree apost. Saturnini mart.
30. Nat. sancti Andree apost. xii.lc.

NOTES

1. In the general Cistercian calendar, the 7th of November remained blank until the seventeenth century (Backaert, p.111). Seemingly, the seventh was also unoccupied in this MS. until the feast of the decollation of Perugia's most famous patron was inserted, by a later hand, into the original calendar.
2. The Cistercians kept the feast of St. Edmund Rich of Canterbury from 1247 (Backaert, p.112 and ftn.210 says 1246 and is mistaken: see J.-M. Canivez (ed.), Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis, Vol.11 (Louvain, 1934), p.315). As the feast appears in this MS. calendar, no sign of special local veneration may be observed. Yet Jacobilli, op.cit., Vol.111 (Foligno, 1661), p.xxxxi, mentions a relic claim at the convent of Santa Giuliana for the "anello, cinta, e celitio" of the English archbishop. The standard authorities on St. Edmund offer no encouragement to support this claim. Moreover, there is no iconographic proof of Perugian (or indeed Umbrian) interest in the saint. But there does exist a connection between Santa Giuliana and St. Edmund. Cardinal John of Toledo, the English founder of the nunnery, was instrumental in obtaining the canonization of Edmund Rich; the authorities stress the importance of his intervention (cf. Lawrence, op.cit., pp.15-18; idem., (ed.), The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages, (London, 1965), pp.124, 155; and more strongly still, W. Wallace, Life of St. Edmund of Canterbury (London, 1893), pp.400-401). It is just possible that some relics of St. Edmund reached Perugia through the agency of John of Toledo.
3. I.e. St Elizabeth of Hungary, commemorated by the Cistercians from 1235 (Backaert, p.112, and ftn.211).
4. Borland, p.44, correctly sees this as another Cistercian mark of identification.
5. St. Catherine of Alexandria's feast steadily rises in significance in the Cistercian statutes, becoming a double in 1300 (see Backaert, p.113, ftns. 215-217).

1. Crisanti Mauri et Darie co. Eligii ep. et conf. xii.lc.¹
- 2.
3. Galgani conf. xii.lc. (red)²
- 4.
- 5.
6. Nicolai ep. xii.lc. (red)
7. Octava sancti Andree apost.
8. [Conceptio beate Virginis Marie lc.xii]³
- 9.
- 10.
11. Damasi pape
- 12.
13. Lucie virginis et mart. (red)
- 14.
- 15.
16. Barbare virg. et mart.
- 17.
- 18.
- 19.
- 20.
21. Thome apost. xii.lc. (red)
- 22.
- 23.
24. Vigilia natalis domini
25. Nativitas domini xii.lc. (red)
26. Stephani protomartiris xii.lc. (red)
27. Johannis apost. et evangeliste xii.lc. (red)
28. Sanctorum Innocenti xii.lc. (red)
29. Sancti Thome ep. et mart. xii.lc. (red)
- 30.
31. Sancti Silvestri pape xii.lc. (red)

NOTES

1. The scribe began to write 'Eligii' in red ink; the 'E' has a red line three-quarters of the way through it, and 'xii.lc' is in red.
2. Usually the Cistercians celebrated this feast with only three lessons, but "le monastère de San Galgano en Toscane (1254, statut 34), et la filiation de ce monastère (1262, statut 25) bénéficièrent de la fête de S. Galgan sous le rit de 12" (Backaert, p.114, ftnt.223). Now Santa Giuliana was a dependency of San Galgano (Ricci, Prospero, p.117, and ftnt.3). In fact, the 1294 Cistercian statutes name a monk of San Galgano as 'procurator' of the nuns of Santa Giuliana (Canivez, op.cit., Vol.111 (Louvain, 1935), p.272).
3. An insert unremarked by Borland; it reverses the standard way of stating the number of lessons. The feast was evidently given the rank of double in the Cistercian calendar from 1356 (cf. Backaert, p.115, and ftnt.226).

Briefly described in P. Salmon, Les manuscrits liturgiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane (Studi e Testi 251), Vol.1 (Vatican City, 1968), p.165, no 342-- Breviarium Imperfectum ad Usam Ecclesiae Perusinensis; Fourteenth Century; Calendar (ff.163v-169). Despite its convenience, microfilm does not permit the sort of scrutiny possible with an actual MS., and for calendars there are inevitable frustrations. Ultra-violet light, so helpful with faded script, erasures, over-writing, and so on, cannot be employed; rubrication is not always plain; and the work of decipherment and analysis is made more difficult. From the selection of feasts named in the calendar, which follows below, it will be clear that a portion of the entries proved impossible to ascertain. Note that because one feast is mentioned for a particular day, it should not be assumed that this is the only feast for that day which the calendar gives.

January

1. Sancte Martine virg.
5. (?) Sancti Andree sac. (?)¹
19. Sanctorum marts. Maurii² Marte Audifax et (unreadable: Abbacuo?)
22. Sanctorum Vincentii et Anastasii
24. Sancti (erasure?) ep et mart.³
29. ⁴
31. Cyri et Iohannis

February

1. Sanctorum Ygnatii ep. et mart. et sancti Severi ep.⁵
4. Sancti Gilberti conf.⁶
9. (Sancte Apollonie--inserted)
10. Sancte Scolastice

March

1. Translatio sancti Herculani ep. et mart.
10. (Sancti Longini--inserted)
19. (Sancti Joseph conf.--inserted)⁷
24. Sancti (illegible) ep. et.conf.⁸

Santa Maria Maggiore MS.51 (con't.)

April

29. Sancti Perti mart.⁹

May

15. Sancti Valentini conf.¹⁰

16. Sancti Ubaldi ep. et conf.

17. Sancti Heradii mart. (?)

18. Sancte Pudentiane¹¹

19. Sancti Yvonis conf. presbyt.(?) doctoris et (viduar.?) ac
pauper. defensoris

June

1. Sanctorum Floriani et Fortunati (?)

3. 12

4. (Consecratio sancti Laurentii et altaris sancti Herculani -
-inserted)

13. Sancti Antonii conf. ord. frat. minor.

July

(Much of second half of this month illegible)

August

7. Sancti Donati ep. et mart.

8. Sanctorum marts. Cyriaci, Largi, Smaragdi

10. Sancti Laurentii¹³

12. Sancte Clare virg.

17. Oct. sancti Laurentii

19. Sancti Lodovici¹⁴

September

10. (Beati Nicolai de Tolentino—inserted)

October

4. Natal. sancti Francisci conf.

10. (Sancti Cerbonii ep. et conf.—inserted)

15. M.ccc.lxxxix. Obitus sancti memorie pape Urbani Sexti¹⁵

November

7. Decollatio sancti Herculani

19. Sancti Pontiani pape et mart. Sancte Elysabeth

NOTES

1. Quite possibly a mis-reading. Otherwise, of uncertain meaning - a local feast of the apostle associated with the confraternity bearing his name? a dedication feast?
2. Sic. Properly, Marii; confusion with Mauri abbatis (15 Jan.?)
3. Most likely possibilities (cf. Delehaye, Prop.Dec., p.33) are St. Felician, bishop and martyr, of Foligno; and St. Babylas of Antioch.
4. Blank (the faint writing visible coming from recto?). No St. Constatius.
5. St. Severus of Ravenna was well-known in Perugia (cf. Kaftal-Central, col. 1023ff.)
6. Feast of St. Gilbert of Sempringham (can. process 1201-2); probably of little local significance.
7. The script is late (fifteenth century?) and the reading is fairly probable, but not certain.
8. For some possibilities, see Delehaye, Prop.Dec., pp.110-11.
9. May be an insertion.
10. Unless this is a scribal error, which is unlikely but still possible, the feast of a St. Valentine, confessor, on the 15th of May would be a local peculiarity.
11. St. Yves has displaced her from her former date on the 19th. The displacement appears original to the calendar.
12. Salmon, op.cit., Vol.1, p.165, incorrectly gives the insertion of 4 June as 3 June.
13. Apparently not rubricated. But note the octave on the 17th.
14. I.e., St Louis of Toulouse. It is hard to determine whether the entry is rubricated, faded, or inserted. The second of these seems the best choice.
15. A very interesting obit; if it is original, and so it appears to be, the calendar cannot have been composed before 1389. According to Mariotti, op.cit., Vol.1, Part III, p.476ff. (who bases his account on Pellini), Urban VI visited Perugia in 1388.

Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Capitolare of Perugia

The Biblioteca Capitolare of Perugia is more accurately described in an early guidebook (Perugia, 1923) where it is called the Museo dell' Opera del Duomo di Perugia. Garrison (Studies, Vol.II, p.95, fnnt.4) remarks that "the Museum is in none too good order; numbers (of MSS.) have evidently become confused..." This opinion, expressed in 1955-56, would hold, perhaps with greater force, for 1970. At that time, access depended upon the availability of the guard, who was also a guide to the paintings in the museum. Usually a session of about forty-five minutes was the best that could be hoped for; then the building would be locked. There was naturally no equipment for the photo-reproduction of documents. Since the numeration of the MSS. had been changed at least once, considerable time was wasted in identifying what one had come to see, and the guard was not a librarian.

For these reasons, the detailed descriptive catalogue of illuminated MSS. by A. Caleca, Miniature in Umbria. I. La Biblioteca Capitolare di Perugia (Florence, 1969) came as a godsend. If not the equivalent of direct, personal examination of the MSS., Caleca at least allowed the contents of the MSS. to be known in some measure. The so-called Catalogo of 1923 is actually a twenty-four page pamphlet which quickly and sometimes inexactly lists the paintings, sculpture, coats of arms, printed books, and MSS. held by the Cathedral Museum. Descriptions of MSS. in the Biblioteca Capitolare (henceforward Bib. Capit.) will, therefore, be almost wholly derived from Caleca.

Bib. Capit. MS.11 (Caleca, op.cit., pp.175-77).

Antifonario corale. Fourteenth Century. In the litanies (ff.240v-241r) St. Herculani figures and St. Juliana has been added (following the translation of 1376?) The sanctoral, however, does not seem to localize the MS.

Bib. Capit. MS.38 (Caleca, op.cit., pp.182-84).

Breviario con calendario. Fourteenth Century. Miniatures of St. Herculani (f.396v) and the martyrdom of St. Lawrence (f.350r) are present. Caleca says that the calendar is "tipicamente perugino" and "assolutamente privo di giunte". He refers to the feasts of Saints Constantius (29 Jan.), St. Francis's Translation (25 May), Dominic (5 Aug.), Lawrence (in red, 10 Aug.), Louis (of Toulouse) Bishop (19 Aug.), Augustine (in red, 28 Aug.), Giles abbot (1 Sept.), Francis (4 Oct.), Leonard (6 Nov.), but strangely does not allude to any feast of St. Herculani.

Bib. Capit. MS.8 (Caleca, op.cit., pp.185-86).

Messale francescano con calendario. Fourteenth Century. Masses (among which are various inserts from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries) for St. Herculani and St. Joseph. The calendar (ff.1r-6v) contains the following feasts: Saints Constantius (29 Jan), Herculani (1 March), Thomas Aquinas (7 March; a contemporary insertion), Peter Martyr (29 April), Petri de morone confessoris (Celestine V) (20 May; a contemporary insertion), Francis's Translation (26 May), Anthony of Padua (13 June), Louis Bishop (19 Aug.), Louis (of France) King, Francis (4 Oct), Passio s. Herculani (7 Nov.). On 21 Sept. the rubricated dedication feast appears: "consacratio ecclesie sancte marie de viridario facta per dominum salvem / episcopum perusie tempore domini gregorii pape IX sub MCCXXXI die XXII mensis / septembris."

Bib. Capit. MS.10 (Caleca, op.cit., p.187ff.)

Messale con calendario. Fifteenth Century. There is a miniature (f.7r) of 'S. Lorenzo nel paesaggio di Perugia.' The calendar which Caleca calls "tipicamente perugino", includes the feasts of Saints Herculani (1 March), Anthony of Padua (rubricated, 13 June), Lawrence (rubricated, 11 Aug), Clare (rubricated, 12 Aug.), Lawrence's Octave (rubricated, 17 Aug.), Louis Bishop (rubricated, 19 Aug.), Francis (rubricated, 4 Oct.), Francis's Octave (rubricated, 11 Oct.), Passio s. Herculani (rubricated, 7 Nov.). The pronouncedly Franciscan features of the calendar are confirmed by the 21 July rubricated office 'pro benefactoribus et / defunctis fratribus.' Caleca does not mention a feast of St. Constantius.

Described by Mazzatinti, op.cit., Vol.V, p.248, MS.1115 (N.67), as a Benedictine Breviary, Fifteenth Century. The Breviary contains abridged legends of, among others, Saints Constantius, Herculanus, Justina, and Peter Abbot. St. Peter Abbot was of course associated with the Perugian Benedictine monastery of San Pietro which belonged to the Congregationis sanctae Justinae. The program of feasts in the calendar reflects this Perugian and Benedictine pattern of veneration. A selection of characteristic or remarkable saints' days follows. For any given day, what has been selected is not necessarily the complete calendar entry.

January

- 8. Sancti Severini abbatis et conf.
- 29. Sancti Constantii ep. et mart. dup. mai.¹

February

- 1. Sancti Severi ep. et conf.
- 9. Sancte Scolastice virg.
- 12. Sancte Fusce virg. et mart.²
- 28. Sancti Macharii conf.

March

- 1. Sancti Herculani ep. et mart. perusini dup. min.
- 7. Sancti Thome de Aquino conf.
- 21. Transitus sancti Benedicti abbatis et conf.

April

- 30. Sancti Petri mart.

July

- 10. Sancti Petri abbatis dup. mai.³

August

- 5. Sancti Dominici conf.
- 12. Sancte Clare virg.
- 20. Sancti Bernardi abbatis et conf.
- 25. Sancti Lodovici regis francie conf.⁴

September

- 19. Anniversarius p~~eps~~. dom. Lodovici ep.⁵

October

October

- 4. Sancti Francisci conf.
- 7. Sancte Justine virg. et mart. dup. mai.⁶
- 16. Sancti Galli abbatis

November

- 7. Decollatio sancti Herculani ep. dup. min.
- 19. Sancti Pontiani pape et mart. Sancti Oddonis abbatis et conf.
- v Sancte Helisabeth nec virg. nec mart.⁷

December

- 16. Sancti Floriani mart.⁸

NOTES.

- 1. The high liturgical honors accorded to the saint maybbe explained by the fact that his church was in the possession of the monastery of San Pietro (cf. Leccisotti and Tabarelli, op.cit., Vol.II, p.181).
- 2. St. Fosca or Fusca was venerated especially in the Veneto; there is also some tentative evidence of veneration at Ascoli Piceno (see Kaftal-Central, Cols.444-445).
- 3. Cf. BHL, Vol.II, p.983 - Petrus ab. S. Petri de Perusio (d.) 1007. - Iul.10.
- 4. Possibly of some interest in showing the fama of St. Louis of France in Perugia.
- 5. On Ludovico Barbo, 1381-1443, Venetian reformer and founder of the Benedictine congregation of St. Justina, see DELERUELLE, p.1045ff (and notes, for further bibliography). This entry does not seem to be an insert. San Pietro of Perugia joined the congregation of St. Justina in 1436 (Leccisotti and Tabarelli, op.cit., Vol.I, p.xvii, Vol.II, p.163ff).
- 6. San Pietro's membership in the congregation of which this saint was patron undoubtedly explains the attention paid to her cult at the abbey.
- 7. An oblique way of referring to St. Elizabeth of Hungary's widowhood.
- 8. If this is not a mis-reading, the veneration of St. Florian at such a date is not easily explained. No church under his patronage seems to have been in the possession of the abbey.

Described by Mazzatinti, op.cit., Vol.V, p.126, MS.298 (E.46), as an Orationale monasticum secundum consuetudinem monachorum congr. de observ. sanctae Justinae, Fifteenth Century. Miniatures (see f.7r, and f.117r) show Saints Peter and Paul, Michael, and perhaps Lawrence and either Benedict or Peter abbot. Selections from the calendar (preceding f.7r) follows. As one would expect from a liturgical document made for or at the Perugian Benedictine monastery of San Pietro, the pattern of feasts displays both Benedictine and Perugian features.

January

16. (Sancti Honorati ep. et conf. —inserted)
29. Sancti Constantii ep. et mart. dup. mai.¹

February

1. Sancti Severi ep. et conf. co.
13. Sancte Pasce virg. et mart.

March

1. Sancti Herculani ep. et mart. dup. min.
7. Sancti Thome de Aquine conf.
12. Sancti Gregorii pape conf. atque doctoris dup. mai.
19. (Sancti Joseph conf. dup. min. — inserted)²
21. Transitus sancti Benedicti abbatis dup. mai.³

April

2. (Sancti Francisci de Paula conf. — — inserted)⁴
11. (Sancti Leonis pape dup. min. — — inserted)
30. Sancti Petri mart.

May

2. (Sancti Athanasii ep. et conf. dup. min. — — inserted)⁵
9. (Sancti Gregorii Theologi ep. et conf. dup. min. — — inserted)⁶
12. (Sancti Montani conf. dup. min. — — inserted)⁷
26. Sancti Eleuterii pape et mart.

June

22. Sancti Paulini [et Sancti Juliani conf. - - inserted]⁸
25. Sancti Prosperi ep. et conf. com.⁹

July

10. Sancti Petri abbatis dup.mai.
17. Octava sancti Petri abbatis dup.min.
26. Sancti Pastoris conf. [et Sancti Symeonis conf. co. - inserted]¹⁰

August

4. Sancti Justinii mart. (Sancti Dominici conf. dup.min. - inserted)
7. Sancti Donati ep. et mart.
12. Sancte Clare virg.
20. Sancti Bernardi abbatis
25. [Sancti Lodovici reg. et conf. - inserted]

September

19. [Anniversario domini Ludovici Barbo fundatoris congreg. nost.
sancte Justine - inserted]

October

4. Sancti Francisci conf.
7. Sancte Justine virg. et mart. dup. mai.
16. Sancti Galli abbatis

November

7. Decollatio sancti Herculani, ep. perusini dup.min. [et Sancti
Prosdocii ep. - inserted]¹¹
19. ... et Sancte Elisabeth nec virg. nec mart. co.
21. Dedicatio eccles. sancti Petri de Perusio.¹²

NOTES

1. The feast may be rubricated, but with microfilm it is not possible to determine rubrications with certainty.
2. Probably late fifteenth century, and thus quite interesting testimony to the saint's cult in Perugia (cf. the discussion in Chapter IV).
3. His liturgical grading is naturally indicative of the importance of the saint in a Benedictine abbey. His octave is also mentioned.
4. St. Francis de Paola d. 1507, can. 1519. The cursive script is definitely much later than that of the other inserts.
5. St. Athanasius (d. 373), one of the doctors of the Orthodox Church.
6. St. Gregory Nazianzen (d. 390), another Greek doctor. A sign, perhaps, of revival of Greek studies or an awareness of the Orthodox Church at later fifteenth century San Pietro's?
7. The church of San Montano was held by the monastery of San Pietro (cf. Leccisotti and Tabarelli, op.cit., Vol.II, p.182). On the obscure saint who was patron of that church, see ibid., Vol.I, p.59, ftnt.5ff.
8. An odd date for St. Julian (but cf. Kaftal-Central, col.652: "there is no traditional date for the feast of St. Julian the Hospitaller" - yet none of the dates cited by Kaftal includes 22 June; and is this St. Julian the Hospitaller?). The explanation for this insertion may lie in the possession by San Pietro of the church of San Giuliano in Casale de Monte Corneo (see Leccisotti and Tabarelli, op.cit., Vol.I, p.21, ftnt.3 and Vol.II, p.181).
9. St. Prosper of Reggio (fifth century). For his cult and church in Perugia, see text, Chapter IV.
10. The Armenian pilgrim who died in Europe in 1016.
11. No indication of special cult in Perugia (and Kaftal-Central contains no reference to him). It may be significant, however, that St. Prosdocius, Bishop of Padua, should be mentioned in the calendar of a religious house belonging to the Benedictine congregation of St. Justina of Padua.
12. Definite proof, if it were needed, of the provenance of the calendar in its unamended form.

Description of the MS. in Mazzatinti, op.cit., Vol.V, p.98, given as MS.190 (D.8). Fifteenth Century. Augustinian Lectionary. 'Incipit lectionarius fraternitatis sancti Augustini' (f.3r). Note the lessons: 'In translatione sancti Herculani epi. perusi.' (ff.25r-26r), 'Laurentii martiris' (ff.33v-34v), 'sancti Michaelis archangeli' (f.39v). Note also (ff.43r-44v) 'Officium Confratrum sancti Augustini et sancti Dominici et sancti Francisci de Perusia.' Prayers to the B.V.M., St. Augustine, St. Dominic, St. Francis, and for All Saints appear before the office for the dead (ff.57r-60v). The litanies are of interest here, and selections from them are cited below.

First litany (ff.51r-54v).

(Cf. Van Dijk, Origins, p.515

.....
Sancti Innocentes.
Sancte Stephane.¹
Sancte Laurenti.
Sancte Herculane.
Sancte Constanti.

Omnes sancti Innocentes. orate.
Sancte Stephane. ora.
Sancte Laurenti. ora.
Sancte Vincenti. ora.
Sancte Line. ora.)

Second litany (ff.64r-67r).

.....
Omnes sancti Innocentes.
Sancte Stephane.
Sancte Herculane.
Sancte Laurenti.
Sancte Constanti.

.....
Omnes sancti martires.

Sancte Silvester.
Sancte Gregori.
SANCTE PATER AUGUSTINE.²
Sancte Martine.
Sancte Ambrosi.
Sancte Hironime.
Sancte Nicolae.
Sancte Ludovice.³

[Omnes sancti pontifices et confessores.]

.....
Sancte Benedicte
SANCTE PATER FRANCISCE.⁴
Sancte Antoni.
SANCTE PATER DOMINICE.⁵
[Omni sancti monachi et heremite.]

.....

Sancta Agnes.
Sancta Lucia.
Sancta Cecilia.
Sancta Agatha.
Sancta Catherina.⁶
Sancta Clara.⁷
Sancta Elisabeth.⁸
(Omnes sancte virgines et vidue.)

NOTES.

1. The deacon martyrs Stephen and Lawrence are usually followed by another deacon martyr, St. Vincent, but here St. Herculanus and St. Constantius (martyred bishops) are added, indicating localization. Placement under St. Lawrence also shows that this universal saint is understood to belong in the company of Perugian local patrons. The reversal of the order at the top of the second litany makes St. Lawrence's localization more explicit still.
2. Raised letters; a confraternal patron.
3. Placed as he is with the episcopal confessors, this is probably St. Louis of Toulouse.
4. Raised letters; a confraternal patron.
5. Raised letters; a confraternal patron.
6. Doubtless St. Catherine of Alexandria.
7. St. Clare of Assisi, her presence owed to Franciscan and Roman liturgical traditions.
8. St. Elizabeth of Hungary.

For these details I am indebted to a letter from Mr. John P. Harthan, Keeper of the Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, who enclosed a photocopied extract from the relevant section of the Museum's typescript catalogue, for which I am also most grateful. The entire hagiographic program of the calendar of this MS. deserves further study. I have been unable to consult the MS. at first hand. Calendar of (later fifteenth century?) Roman missal. The calendar itself is described as Roman "with the addition of a number of local saints." Presumably original entries of Saints Nicholas of Tolentino, Bernardino of Siena, and Vincent Ferrer place the calendar in the latter Quattrocento. The following feasts have been singled out for comment:

January

29. St. Constantius

March

1. Translation of St. Herculanius

19. Johannis de Parma

August

7. St. Donatus of Arezzo

October

10. St. Carbonius

November

1. St. Caesarius of Lucca

3. St. Hilary

7. Decollation of St. Herculanius

December

St. Constatius

A Perugian provenance seems to be indicated. Saints Donatus, Carbonius, Caesarius, and Hilary must be considered regional saints in central Italy, the cult paid to them extending well beyond local centers of veneration. (cf. Van Dijk, *Origins*, pp.438-39, 442-43, 444-45). John of Parma, oddly confused for a time with two other Johns (one named Giovanni de Penna or Pernariensis, former abbot of a monastery near Spoleto, and the second a Franciscan native of Penna San Giovanni in the diocese of Fermo), must surely be the

Franciscan beatus and ex-minister-general, who became the hope and hero of the Spirituals. Further signs of Observantine Franciscan sympathies might be looked for in rubrications (no rubrications are mentioned in the catalogue description). The presence of the feast of Celestine V (Peter Morone) on 19 May would be interesting as would be the feast of St. Louis of Toulouse on 19 August. Before assigning the calendar to a Franciscan house in Perugia, however, one would want to know the significance of the 1 December feast of St. Constantius, if indeed this is not a mis-reading, or scribal error.

II. Documents of Possible Perugian Provenance.

(None of these documents have been studied at first hand: they are cited from descriptions in catalogues of MSS.)

- Bib. Capit. (Perugia) MS.16—Graduale sanctorale (Caleca, op.cit., pp.171-73). Thirteenth Century. Caleca says that the sanctoral is "tipicamente perugino (per la parte duescentesca)" but in his full listing of saints he mentions neither St. Constantius nor St. Herculanus. Rubrications: St. Anthony of Padua, St. Lawrence, St. Francis.
- Bib. Capit. (Perugia) MS.45—Antifonario A (Caleca, op.cit., pp.177-78). Fourteenth Century. Only hagiographic sign of Perugian provenance is the presence of St. Herculanus in the sanctoral and a miniature devoted to the same saint.
- Bib. Capit. (Perugia) MS.14—Antifonario D (Caleca, op.cit., p.180). Fourteenth Century. St. Herculanus's translation feast occurs in the sanctoral, and there is a miniature of the saint enthroned between two angels.
- Vatic. Lat. MS.1152—Pontifical (M. Andrieu, Le Pontifical romain au moyen âge, Vol.II (Studi e Testi 87) (Vatican City, 1940), p.130). Fourteenth Century. In the litanies of the saints, St. Herculanus concludes the list of martyrs (f.112v). This is the sole indication of provenance.
- Vatic. Lat. MS.547—Pontifical (Ibid., Vol.II, pp.205-6). Fourteenth Century. Miniature (ff.169r) represents an enthroned Virgin and Child with St. Thomas (the Apostle?) on the left hand, and on the right, in the place of honor, St. Constantius.
- Lambeth Palace MS.1511—Antiphonale (N.R. Ker, Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, Vol.1 (Oxford, 1969), pp.107-8). Fourteenth Century. The sanctoral is incomplete. On 7 November is the feast of St. Herculanus (ff.34-39v).
- Vatic. Cod.Chigi C.V.148—Pontifical (Andrieu, op.cit., Vol.III (Studi e Testi 88) (Vatican City, 1940), pp.249-55). Fifteenth Century. Although Andrieu says that the MS. was copied "sans doute a Pérouse" (p.305), he provides no satisfying hagiographic evidence for this statement. The saints of the litanies (f.14r) do not localize the MS., and the substitution of St. Victoria—not St. Victorinus as he says (cf. p.250 with f.95v cited p.255)—for St. Privatus equally does not seem to determine the provenance of the pontifical.
- Bodleian MS. 19336—Benedictine Diurnal (F. Madan, A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Oxford, 1897), Vol.IV, p.361). Fifteenth Century. Calendar incomplete, sanctoral evidently complete. "Soon after the book was written the calendar was altered to suit the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter at Perugia." No hagiographical particulars given.

III. Documents Eliminated from Consideration.

Vatic. Lat. 4760 - Breviari Proprium de Tempore ad Usam Fratrum Minorum. Fifteenth Century. Calendar, ff.1-6v. Salmon, op.cit., Vol.I, p.175: no.367.

Salmon comments: "Pérouse? D'après les saints du calendrier et des litanies provient probablement de Pérouse." The calendar alone offers no grounds for this supposition. St. Valerius, not Constantius, appears on the 29th of January; St. Herculanus is cited on the 1st March, but his feast is not rubricated. The last saint added to the calendar is St. Vincent Ferrer (5 April). Doubles include St. Gregory the Great (12 March); St. George (23 April); and St. Augustine (28 August). The feast of St. Ubaldo of Gubbio (16 May) is unrubricated.

Vatic. Lat. 6244 - Breviarium Cisterciense S. Florentii de Perusio. Fifteenth Century. Calendar, ff.31-38. Salmon, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.178-79: no.375.

Salmon remarks that the calendar contains many French saints. He notes the statement which follows the calendar (f.39) 'Florentii et Cesarii et Ciriaci, qui in presenti requiescunt ecclesia' and says that "il s'agit de S. Florent de Pérouse." The calendar, however, offers no sign of manufacture for Perugian use. Aside from the French saints, the calendar has a definite Cistercian and Sienese character. The 29th of April, for example, sees the feasts of St. Robert abbas and St. Hugonis abbas (the latter inserted). St. Galaganus, associated with Sienese Cistercianism, is commemorated on the 1st of September; he re-appears on his usual feast day (3 Dec) and receives the high honor of an octave (10 Dec. - inserted). The Sienese martyr St. Ansanus is also mentioned (1 Dec.)

Appendix B

The Grouping of Perugian Saints in Some Official Civic Documents.

8 October 1260 — A civic assembly, meeting at the church of San Lorenzo, makes its decisions 'in nomine Dei Omnipotentis et B. Marie Virginis et SS. Martirum Laurentii et Erculani et omnium Sanctorum et Sanctarum Dei'. (See Ansidei, Regestum Reformationum, pp.xviii and 287.)

1279 — Preamble to the civic statutes: 'In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi, amen. ... Ad laudem et reverentiam ipsius et reverendissime matris beate virginis Marie, beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, gloriosorum martirum Laurentii et Herculani, sanctissimorum confessorum Dominici et Francisci et omnium Sanctorum et Sanctarum Dei...' (See A. Fabretti (ed), Statutum Communis Perusii Anno MCCLXXIX Digestum (n.p., n.d.), p.3.)

29 April 1337 — Preamble to a treaty between Florence, Perugia and Arezzo: 'In nomine Domini, amen. ... Ad honorem et reverentiam omnipotentis Dei et beate gloriose Virginis Marie matris eius et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et beati Johannis Baptiste, patroni et defensoris comunis et populi civitatis Florentie, et gloriosorum martirum sanctorum Laurentii, Herculani et Costantii, patronorum et defensorum comunis et populi civitatis Perusii, et ad honorem et reverentiam beati ac sancti Donati martiris, patronis et defensoris comunis et populi civitatis Aretii, et beate sancte Caterine Virginis et omnium Sanctorum et Sanctarum Dei ... et ad honorem, pacem, et unionem perpetuam et tranquillum statum comunium et populorum civitatis Florentie, Perusii, et Aretii.' (From A. Bini and G. Grazzini (ed.s), 'Documenti' in Annales Aretinorum (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, L.A. Muratori, rev. ed., Vol.XXIV, part 1) (Citta di Castello, 1909, p.60.)

1338 — A further treaty involving the same three parties: the preamble: 'In nomine Domini, amen. ... Ad honorem et reverentiam omnipotentis Dei et gloriose Virginis Matris Marie, et gloriosorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et aliorum omnium apostolorum, et beatorum Iohannis Batiste et sanctorum Zanobii et Barnabe et beate Reparate, patronorum et defensorum magnifice civitatis Florentie, et beatorum martirum Laurentii et Herculani atque Costantii, patronorum et defensorum magnifice populi Perusini; et ad honorem et reverentiam beati confessoris [sic] sancti Donati, patroni et defensoris civitatis Aretii...' (For this document, see the 'Regesto e documenti', Archivio Storico Italiano, Vol.XVI., part 2 (Florence, 1851), pp.510-11.)

25 December 1342 — Preamble to a treaty between Perugia and Siena: '... ad gloriam et honorem omnipotentis Dei et beate Marie matris eius semper virginis etc., in cuius misericordie gremio Senarum et Perusinarum civitates sub singulari confidentia prospere conquiescunt, et beatorum martyrum Laurentii, Herculani, et Costantii patronorum etc. civitatis Perusii...' (Ibid, Vol.XVI. part 2, pp.525-27, for the entire document.)

20 August 1354 — Preamble to a treaty between Perugia and Gubbio: 'In nomine Christi, amen. ... Ad honorem et reverentiam omnipotentis Dei et beate Marie Virginis matris eius et beatorum apostolorum eius Petri et Pauli et martirum sanctorum Laurentii, Herculani, et Constantii patronorum, protectorum et defensorum communis et populi civitatis Perusii, et excellentissimi confessoris beati Ubaldi et gloriosorum martirum sanctorum Mariani et Jacobi patronorum et protectorum et defensorum communis et populi civitatis Eugubii, et totius curie celestis...' (This document is cited in G. Mazzatinti (ed.), Cronaca di Ser Guerriero da Gubbio (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, L.A. Muratori, rev. ed., Vol.XXI, part 4) (Citta di Castello, 1902), p.11 ff., fnt. 1.)

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